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RED FLAG

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Complete translation of the monthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Peking. Passages between slantlines printed in boldface type.

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CONSCIENTIOUSLY MAKE UP MISSED LESSONS IN THE DISCUSSION ON THE
CRITERION OF TRUTH

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 2 Sep 79 pp 2-4

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] Various localities and many units throughout the country have recently proposed that it is necessary to conscientiously make up missed lessons in the discussion on the criterion of truth. This is a very urgent and highly necessary proposal.

Major achievements have been made in the countrywide discussion on the criterion of truth in the past year. By reviewing last year's changes in the political, economic and cultural spheres in our country, we can see the tremendous role this discussion has played in promoting the implementation of the party's various policies, the redress of unjust and wrong verdicts and trumped-up charges, the clarification of major questions of right and wrong regarding the Great Cultural Revolution and the shift of focus of the party's work. In a word, as a result of this discussion, many comrades have been liberated from the mental shackles created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and from the two "whatevers" thinking, have restored the true features of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and reviewed the fine work styles of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with reality.

This publication made a serious mistake during this very important discussion. For more than 6 months last year, it did not publish any article discussing the criterion of truth, because its leadership had followed an incorrect ideological line, proceeded from book worship and divorced itself from reality. This had an extremely undesirable influence. The broad masses of readers have been entirely correct in seriously criticizing this wrong attitude adopted by this publication. We will seriously sum up this experience, further emancipate our minds and join the cadres and the masses in making up missed lessons in the discussion on the criterion of truth.

At the third plenary session of its 11th Central Committee, the party highly appraised the discussion on the criterion of truth and drew up the policy of emancipating the mind, starting up the machinery of thinking, seeking truth from facts and marching forward in unity. Emancipating the mind means that we must take practice as the criterion for testing all theories, guidelines, policies and slogans of the past, uphold the right ones and correct the wrong ones and take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a weapon for studying new situations, solving new problems and drawing new conclusions according to the new historical conditions. There were mainly three different attitudes toward the policies and the major measures adopted by the third plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee: first, firm support; second, doubts and wavering; third, disagreement and resentment. For this reason there has not been smooth sailing in implementing the guidelines of the third plenary session. This implementation was disturbed by erroneous rightist and ultraleftist ideas, especially the latter. The party Central Committee reiterated the upholding of the four basic principles in order to promptly get rid of the disturbances caused by these two types of erroneous ideas. However, some people approached these four basic principles according to their needs. They mistook this reiteration as a step to correct the deviation of the third plenary session and arbitrarily attacked the discussion on the emancipation of the mind, on the promotion of democracy and on the criterion of truth. The emergence of these erroneous ideas was not strange at all. It should be put through a concrete historical analysis. On the one hand, it was because the work in various fields had been carried out at a fast pace, and these people could not catch up ideologically with the current situation. On the other hand, our ranks were seriously sabotaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and the ultraleftist line still had a very deep influence. Some people had an ulterior motive and waved the flag of supporting Chairman Mao while actually opposing the guidelines of the third plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee and upholding the reactionary ideological system of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." For this reason, the localities and units which had discussed the question of the criterion of truth should continue to deepen this discussion, and those which have not yet held this discussion should conscientiously make up missed lessons in this discussion. Through this discussion, the whole party and all the Chinese people should be unified ideologically on the basis of the guidelines and policies drawn up by the third plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee and the second session of the Fifth NPC. This is required by the developing objective situation and demanded by the cadres and the masses.

Fundamentally, making up missed lessons in the discussion on the criterion of truth aims at solving the problem of the ideological line. There are two diametrically opposed ideological lines. One finds expression in idealism and metaphysics which stick to book worship; the other finds expression in dialectical materialism which proceeds from reality. An ideological line is the basis of a political line. Its

correctness or incorrectness leads the revolution to success or failure. Only when a correct ideological line is followed will it be possible to guarantee the implementation of a political line. When an incorrect ideological line is followed, a political line cannot be reliable. During the decade when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" created confusion, idealism was rampant and metaphysics ran wild, disrupting our ideological line. We must vigorously straighten out our ideological line. The problem of the ideological line was solved after the third plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee. However, this does not mean that the problem has been solved in all localities. The controversy over the problem of the ideological line has not ended and is still going on. Therefore, we must properly solve the problem of the ideological line. This concerns fundamental construction and is a major issue which deserves close attention.

However, some comrades do not sufficiently understand the important meaning of making up the missed lessons in the discussion on the criterion of truth. Some hold that this is a task for the propaganda departments and the theoretical workers and that they themselves are not concerned with this task. This view is obviously incorrect. The question of these comrades' thinking can be solved easily by doing appropriate ideological work on them. Stress should be laid on doing penetrating and meticulous ideological work on comrades who still do not understand and even resent the discussion on the criterion of truth. Actually, these comrades have studied Comrade Mao Zedong's philosophical works such as "On Practice" and "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" more than once. They do not oppose the viewpoint of practice being the basic viewpoint of dialectical materialism. However, at the mention of holding a discussion on the criterion of truth and using practice to test all subjective things, they believe that this is something terrible, as if the spearhead is being directed at the revolutionary leader. There are numerous reasons for this kind of thinking.

What is the problem? It is chiefly a matter of ideological confusion resulting from modern superstitions created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Lin Biao and the "gang of four" created modern superstitions within our party for as long as 10 years. They advocated "the peak has been reached," "every line is truth" and "one line is the equivalent of 10,000 lines." They idolized revolutionary leaders and dogmatized revolutionary theory. These mental shackles weighed heavily on people. The remnant poison of "showing such faith approaching superstition and such obedience approaching blindness" is still a long way from being eliminated. In the eyes of certain people, everything written in the books must be followed to the letter; nothing should be discussed if it is not written in the books. They believe that everything written, circled or reviewed by a leader is correct. No matter how actual objective conditions have changed and no matter what practice has proved to be incorrect, they consider it necessary to trust and obey everything. This means restoring obscurantism. It has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, which is built on a scientific basis. What is to be

trusted and obeyed by us is conditional. We can only obey and trust what is proved correct in practice. What is proved wrong in practice must be overcome and corrected. Faith is not the equivalent of superstition, just as obedience is not synonymous with blind obedience. Ignorance arising out of modern superstitions is not a manifestation of firm faith but a reflection of idolatry. Only by eliminating modern superstitions can we fearlessly test every subjective thing in practice. Only in this way can we adopt a down-to-earth attitude toward revolutionary leaders and revolutionary theory.

Because certain comrades previously carried out the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," they are afraid that the test of practice may expose their mistakes and jeopardize their position. It cannot be denied that every subjective thing must be tested in practice, including everyone's work. For various subjective or objective reasons, we make mistakes of one kind or another in our work. This is unavoidable. If a test in practice shows that we have done something wrong, this is a good and not a bad thing. It stimulates us to seriously sum up experiences and lessons and further improve our work. After a mistake has been made, the key lies in whether we assume a correct attitude toward it. If we insist on testing our work in practice, if we understand what is wrong after a mistake is discovered and if we show the ability to correct a mistake by our actions, then there is no problem of our position being jeopardized. If we have made a mistake and are afraid of the test of practice, this is harmful to the party and to ourselves.

Whether we can now make up for the lessons we missed in the discussion on the criterion of truth depends chiefly on whether the leadership at various levels will take the lead in conducting discussions. In the past year of discussions, many leading cadres played a leading role. However, some comrades refused to get involved in the discussion and did not organize others to do so. Other comrades just urged people to join in the discussion but did not get involved themselves. Such a situation must be rectified. The leaders at various levels must first take makeup lessons and emancipate their minds in a serious and not haphazard way, linking theory with practice. Only in this way can they properly help the masses of cadres and people to catch up on missed lessons. If they themselves have neglected to take makeup lessons and their minds are still in an ossified or semiossified state, it is just impossible for them to do a good job in leading this effort.

How should the discussion of the criterion of truth be properly organized? Some areas and units have provided very valuable experience. They believe that we must conduct the discussion with given targets in mind, linking theory with practice, taking into account our own thinking and work and summing up both positive and negative experiences in the past 30 years. Conducting the discussion in an abstract way does nothing to solve problems. Only by linking the discussion with such problems of the greatest interest to the masses, such as the implementation of party policies, the

conquest of factionalism, changes in class relations and so forth, can we achieve very satisfactory results. In discussing the problem of why it is claimed that the exploiting classes in our country have been eliminated, we must first start with an analysis of how the landlords, rich peasants or capitalists have been reformed in the area concerned. This will make us see that the overwhelming majority of these people have been reformed in a satisfactory or relatively satisfactory manner and have become self-supporting laborers. Thus we can realize in practice and theory that such a conclusion is correct. A discussion held in this way is lively, down to earth and easy to understand.

Making up the missed lessons in the discussion of the criterion of truth does not mean launching a political movement. The effort is to revolve around the realization of the four modernizations as the center. This is an education in the ideological line and in dialectical materialism and is a long-term task. The proper or improper conduct of the current discussion will bear on whether the excellent situation of stability and unity can be consolidated and developed and on whether the four modernizations can be realized. Through this discussion we must carry out the spirit of the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and the Fifth NPC, further do various tasks well and give our all to the realization of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4004

STUDY THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 2 Sep 79 pp 5-10

[Article by Zhu Yan [2612 1484]]

[Text] Fifty-eight years ago our party was founded to wage a heroic struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people and the cause of socialism. This is the history of the growth of the vanguard of the proletariat from small to big and from weak to strong and a history of its gradual maturity in the course of tortuous advance on the road of revolution. In this historical process we have won a series of brilliant victories and also met with serious setbacks. Our party is vigorous and flourishing but has also suffered disasters and hardships. Most of our party members have experienced the joy of victory at varying periods and also the suffering brought by mistakes and setbacks. These twists and turns, ups and downs, joys and sorrows are invariably closely related to whether or not our party is properly run and whether or not the problems of inner-party struggle are properly handled.

At present the revolutionary cause of China, hallmarked by the advance of 900 million people toward socialist modernization under the leadership of the party, has entered a new period of historical development. In this period the existence of contradictions within the party is still unavoidable. The question of how to conduct inner-party struggle and further build an ideologically, politically and organizationally complete and consolidated party that can close ranks to shoulder the new historical task is a formidable one confronting the whole party following the development of the four modernizations. There is a saying in China: "Remembering the past helps one understand the present." A conscientious study of the running of the party, especially the historical experience of carrying out inner-party struggle, will enable comrades of the whole party to understand and grasp that this is undoubtedly extremely important and indispensable in completely eliminating the serious consequences caused by the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," making a success of party building in the new period, giving full play to the leadership role of the party, guaranteeing stability and unity in the development of the four modernizations, as well as benefiting the people and providing advantages for future generations.

Numerous line struggles of different natures have appeared in various historical stages of our party, and there have been successful as well as unsuccessful experiences. These two aspects of experiences have clearly informed us that whether or not the party is vigorous and flourishing and whether or not the revolutionary cause led by the party can succeed is determined not only by whether or not we have a firm and correct Marxist line, but to a very great extent by whether or not our party can hold fast to the line of the party, correctly carry out inner-party struggle and effectively prevent and overcome interference from incorrect ideology, incorrect tendencies and incorrect lines. Any incorrect political line, regardless of whether it is "left" or right, is invariably served by an organizational line. To completely correct any incorrect political line, we must at the same time completely set right the things that have been thrown into disorder in the organizational line. Otherwise, achievements in opposing the erroneous political line cannot be consolidated because of the lack of organizational guarantees. This question of organizational line is in the final analysis a question of people, the most important of which is the education and handling of certain party members and cadres with different views or who made mistakes. Errors and mistakes on this question will invariably harm the solidarity of the party and impair the cause of the revolution. If permitted to develop, it could lead to disturbances and instability in the party, give rise to new incorrect lines and result in more serious setbacks to the party and to the cause of the revolution. How, then, should we handle the question of line struggle in the party, and how can we effectively adhere to the correct line and overcome incorrect ones? The correct policy and method are to put the stress on teaching the people Marxism, on teaching them to study historical experiences, draw a line between right and wrong, look for a method of correcting mistakes, maintain a cautious attitude in dealing with people, neither be ambiguous and perfunctory nor cause harm to comrades and implement the policy of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient in order to achieve the goal of clearing up ideology, uniting with comrades and working together for the party under the guidance of the correct line. Moreover, some of this work must be carried out under the guidance of the principle of democratic centralism and by means of normal party life. This has been consistently advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. It is also a basic experience in correctly handling the question of inner-party struggle strongly upheld by the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng and a basic experience for making the party vigorous and flourishing.

The content of this experience is very rich and full. Here we will discuss some of our experiences in upholding the general and specific policies of inner-party struggle.

1. We must scientifically assess the developing and changing conditions and situations of class struggle and their reflection in society before we can correctly guide inner-party struggle. So long as class

contradictions and the contradictions of new and old things exist in society, contradictions will invariably also exist in the party. Under given conditions they will appear as line struggle. It is incorrect to cover up contradictions or negate the necessity of struggle. However, we must be very cautious in carrying out this kind of struggle. We can neither regard the question of ideology and trends as a question of line nor regard the question of line as an ordinary question. We must also note that, because of different historical conditions, the content and form of incorrect ideologies, tendencies and lines are also different. Therefore, we must proceed from objective reality, correctly direct and carry out struggle, oppose the "left" and the right when signs of either appear and solve any problems whenever they come up. Even though certain deviations were primary for the general situation at a specific time, we must also look at other problems realistically in specific circumstances. Opposing the "left" can cause one to deviate to the right or even develop the "left" further. This is also true in the opposite case. Going in for "book worship," relying on "taking things for granted" in doing things, "whipping up a storm" at will, waving "left" and right deviationist labels at every turn and waging a "life and death struggle" are definitely bad.

2. When conducting necessary inner-party struggle, we must firmly believe that the overwhelming majority of the party members and cadres are good or relatively good and can be relied on. The bad people who wormed their way into the party are only a small minority. It is very necessary here to strictly distinguish between those who formulated and those who implemented the incorrect line, between the leading members who pushed the incorrect line and those who followed them in making mistakes, and between the good people who were influenced into making mistakes and the bad people who deliberately made trouble. If we do not make distinctions and do not pay attention to concrete analysis, then this basic belief of ours is bound to waver and will in effect lead to the enlargement of inner-party struggle. Wang Ming went in for overthrowing everything within and outside the party. One of the ideological causes was suspicion of everything. Over 30 years later Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wantonly turned upside down the relationship between enemies and ourselves and between good and evil and pushed suspicion and the overthrow of everything to a new height. The lesson they gave us was indeed painful. We must appropriately assess this "great majority" and "small minority." For the sake of strengthening the building of our party, as revolutionaries we must concentrate on eliminating the passive factors obstructing the implementation of the correct line. This is very necessary. It can be dangerous if we talk about "spies like flies" and "renegades in droves" every time we open our mouths. Ants cannot be confused with elephants, and a single ant is not the same thing as a colony of ants. If we treat this kind of question of simple common knowledge lightly, we will make the mistake of accidentally injuring comrades and bringing misfortune to innocent people.

3. The line struggle within the party must put the stress on distinguishing clearly between the major issues of right and wrong of principle and summing up experience and lessons. Apart from a handful of people who deliberately endanger the party in the name of line struggle, we must not put the stress on investigating the individual responsibility of those implementing the incorrect line, since the production and formation of any incorrect line must be the product of given historical conditions. Particularly since their representatives have held very great power in the Central Committee for a long time, the scope of their harmful influence is extensive. The number of people involved is large. Failing to put the stress on analyzing the circumstances and historical reasons that gave rise to an incorrect line and failing to make an effort to clarify right and wrong in ideology and theory from the historical-materialist viewpoint while instead investigating individual responsibility will be detrimental to the basic solution of the problem and will also lead to confusion. This was proven long ago by the history of inner-party struggle. On this question, it is very important that we should deal with historical problems with a historical materialist attitude. In the direction of right and wrong in line, we must hold fast to the basic principle of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We must never be equivocal or ambiguous and perfunctory. In dealing with comrades who made mistakes, we must warmly help them, watch over their development and bear the whole situation in mind. We must never think about personal grievances or base our actions on feeling.

4. Basically speaking, solving the question of right and wrong in line in the ideology of comrades within the party is a question of study of and education in Marxism. Stormy mass struggles or "great democracy" that make no distinction between inside or outside the party will definitely not achieve desired results. The effective traditional methods are to raise the level of study, hold democratic debate, practice unity-criticism and self-criticism-unity, uphold the party spirit, put the facts on the table, state reasons, create a temperate climate and use reason to win people over. So long as it is not a question between enemies and ourselves and they are not people who directly threaten the party and socialism, we must not use the method of antagonistic struggle. We must not permit the illegal restriction of the personal freedom of comrades under criticism or deprive people of their right to speak out or to voice their grievances. We must not turn a criticism meeting into a trial or create an atmosphere impeding the calm reflection of problems. Even though it may be a question between the enemies and ourselves, we should also deal with matters strictly in accordance with the procedures of state law. Historical experience has informed us that rash action will also not succeed in solving the question of ideological right and wrong. We should permit people to enjoy receiving an education and understanding their mistakes. Our party took 10 years to get rid of the line of Wang Ming, 4 of which were spent in collective study, debate, rectification of work style and Marxist-Leninist education. The results were very good. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao

and the "gang of four" used the excuse of "line struggle" and took advantage of "great democracy" to make things difficult for the people. They indiscriminately compiled dossiers, extracted confessions and sabotaged our party's traditional methods to solve right and wrong in line within the party and turned things into a mess. We and our children for generations to come must take warning from this kind of lesson.

5. All cases in line struggle must hold fast in seeking truth from facts and correcting mistakes whenever discovered. Carrying out the incorrect line will invariably hurt a number of people. In correcting the incorrect line, we must simultaneously correct all unjust, false and wrong cases created under its influence. In carrying out inner-party struggle under the correct line, there will also be people who have gone too far. Naturally, the mistakes they have made must also be corrected. This question of seeking truth from facts and correcting mistakes whenever discovered is an important political as well as organizational principle. If we discard this principle, we will never be able to truly bring order out of chaos or distinguish right and wrong in line, and the goal of unifying the party cannot be accomplished. If we oppose this principle or work passively in implementing it, then we will not be good enough to be communists. Naturally, this kind of exoneration, rehabilitation and correction work can only stress solving problems politically and realistically and prompting comrades within the party to unite and look ahead, and not the other way around. The seventh plenary session of the Sixth CCP Central Committee presided over by Comrade Mao Zedong exonerated those comrades who had been attacked and maligned by incorrect lines in history and restored their membership in the party. Those who had died were rehabilitated posthumously. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng exonerated and rehabilitated with great energy and resolve a group of comrades who had been persecuted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and summed up and dealt with correcting the mistakes of the comrades who had been wronged in the antirightist, antirightist deviationist and "four cleanups" political movements. These efforts established glorious examples for the whole party of how to appropriately handle problems left over from the line struggle.

6. Comrades who have made mistakes in the line struggle, regardless of their party standing, high position or past achievements, must adopt an honest attitude toward their mistakes. They must first admit and then correct them. This is the rule. If they do not admit their mistakes and are ambiguous and perfunctory, or if they are aware of their mistakes but do not correct them and behave unpredictably, they are doing neither themselves nor the party any good. We must resolutely oppose this. Naturally, the party organization must deal sincerely with comrades who have made mistakes by first distinguishing them and then by helping them. The most important thing here is that we must act in the manner of the proposal made by Comrade Mao Zedong at a 1944 meeting of senior cadres

in Yanan: "Treat all questions analytically; do not negate everything." Only by adopting this kind of unbiased and scientific attitude toward any cadre in the party who has made mistakes can we sincerely convince the majority of comrades who have made mistakes, so that everybody will receive an education. Saying that "people are allowed to make mistakes and people are allowed to correct mistakes a hundred times" will become a meaningless phrase if we go in for "if the line is wrong, everything is wrong." It will also become meaningless if we say that once a comrade has made a mistake his accomplishments over the past several decades have been without a single redeeming feature, he was even bad as a child and his history must be rewritten.

We must be very careful in the organization and handling of people who have made mistakes. No doubt we should adopt a firm attitude toward counterrevolutionaries and other bad elements who wormed their way into the party and remove them from the party to keep it organizationally pure. However, problems within the party, including the handling of comrades who have made line mistakes, should strictly follow the form and framework of resolving contradictions within the party. Maintaining "illicit relations with the outside," drawing people in and tricking them from outside the party to conduct inner-party struggle are strictly prohibited. Since work has to be done, it is difficult not to make mistakes, including line mistakes. If mistakes have been made, it is necessary to strictly carry out ideological criticism, even struggle based on party principle. If we must handle them, they must be handled properly in accordance with organizational procedures. Only a handful of people with serious problems who have shown no signs of repentance must be organized and dealt with. Even in dealing with this kind of people, we must also guarantee their normal democratic rights stipulated by the party constitution. Relevant decisions must be approved by the party organization after collective debate and not on the word of a handful of people. If the case is one of whether or not disciplinary action should be taken, it will be better if none is taken. If the case is one of whether the punishment should be light or heavy, it will be better if the punishment is light. A basic condition is that the person who has made the mistake must renounce the incorrect line and accept and implement the correct one.

7. If punishment must be imposed, it is also generally advisable to adopt a lenient policy and be levelheaded. The purpose of this is to provide comrades who have made mistakes with time to understand and correct them and gain forgiveness from the people. This will also guard against inappropriate handling and decisions caused by overly hasty actions. At times it is necessary to severely punish a person. This can also be done easily. However, relying on punishment will not prevent more people from repeating the mistake. The important thing lies in education and allowing some leeway. This often can achieve better results. Do not lightly pin a label on people or lightly deprive them of party membership. Making people stand on the sideline the moment they

make a mistake or not giving them work for several years is also bad. Experience has repeatedly shown that the correct handling of a person who has made line mistakes can make it possible for us to bring peace to and unite with a whole group. This will be in the interest of the party. There are bound to be individuals who will insist on carrying their "granite heads" to the grave. This will also not harm the situation as a whole, for they can only destroy themselves in the end. What we must particularly guard against are the doubledealers who say nice things in front of you and make trouble behind your back. We must properly expose such people and deal strictly with them.

8. We must unite with the majority to the greatest extent and guard against as well as oppose people who have made use of line struggle to practice sectarianism. The formation of and harm done by all incorrect lines in history are mostly accompanied by sectarianism in the cadre policy. The greater this kind of sectarianism, the more destructive the incorrect line. Moreover, people going in for sectarianism are always drawing the circle smaller and smaller, becoming divorced from the majority and isolating themselves. People such as Wang Ming, proceeding from a strong sectarian stand, intensified the building of their own faction. Under the banner of "making a class analysis of factions," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" gathered factions and formed gangs. Their factional setup was unprecedented in party history. They all appointed people by favoritism, promoted and dismissed people on a big scale and "brought in their own courtiers," but they all came to no good. We must expose and criticize the revisionist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their cadre policy of forming factions for selfish ends, completely solve the question of their factional setup, eliminate their incorrect policy of "drawing the line by people," resolutely implement the correct policy of the party, hold fast to the principle of appointing people by merit and go in for "uniting with people from all parts of the land." We must protect those comrades with ability, drive and achievements who have made mistakes but are willing to turn over a new leaf. In particular, we must pay attention to uniting and working with comrades who made the mistake of opposing us. Cadres who have made mistakes are still party cadres. Because they have implemented the incorrect line determined by the leading members, we cannot willfully declare them to be "followers of so and so," regardless of concrete conditions. As for the leading bodies that actually have problems, it is bad to allow them to exist as they are. It is also bad to replace more of the people and change fewer of the ideas. Generally speaking, it is better to change more ideas but fewer people. Making more changes in ideology and fewer in people is definitely not a matter of expediency but a correct policy which is conducive to uniting with the majority. Its basic demand is to guarantee that leadership power at various levels will definitely be in the hands of comrades who genuinely support and strive to implement the line, policies and principles of the party.

These extremely valuable historical experiences have been obtained at a very high price in the past half century and more. The exposure, criticism and screening movement since the smashing of the "gang of four" has explained that the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng treasures historical experiences most and is best at drawing from them. Things are very clear.

If the CCP Central Committee had not taken account of the characteristics of our time and turned the positive and negative experience of our inner-party struggle into policies and principles for eliminating the aftermath of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and if it had not comprehensively restored and developed the brilliant thinking of Comrade Mao Zedong on inner-party struggle, we could not have obtained the great victory of the exposure, criticism and screening movement today, nor would there have been the excellent situation of stability and unity within and outside the party. It would also have been impossible for the whole party and whole country to work with one heart and mind for the four modernizations. There are now many comrades in our party who talk about the importance of historical experiences, but there are not many who can really understand or seriously learn from them. In particular, the right and wrong turned upside down for a long time by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the distortion of history and the many confusions created in the important policies and principles of inner-party struggle are even now constantly affecting us with their pernicious influence. Some comrades do not fully understand certain policies and principles on handling problems left behind from history. These policies and principles have been formulated by the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng and are based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on inner-party struggle, the historical experience and lessons in handling the question of line struggle and the actual harm caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." These comrades even have doubts or simply verbally express agreement but do not follow suit in action. This is a reflection of the above-mentioned condition in varying degrees. This is a question we cannot ignore.

Why is it that some comrades cannot properly draw on historical experiences or correctly understand or implement party policies and principles? Some are old party members and cadres who have forgotten about the fine traditions of inner-party struggle. Some are new party members and cadres who are not familiar with the traditions of the party. In either case, none can overlook the straightening out of the ideological line or the transformation of the world outlook. Here we must pay special attention to the two following points.

First, the various policies and principles of the CCP Central Committee on inner-party struggle have been formulated by the summing up of both the positive and negative aspects of historical experiences under the guidance of proletarian world outlook and methodology. People who

understand too little of materialism and dialectics definitely cannot truly understand the historical experience of inner-party struggle, nor can they truly accept or implement the policies and principles reflecting this kind of experience. In our party life we can always see this kind of example. Some people are always hoping for absolute purity in the party and for all party members to be "paragons," or holding that everything in the party is good and all is peaceful and quiet. This invariably leads to faults, and their good work cannot produce good results. This no doubt can explain the relationship between studying the materialist dialectics of Marxism and eliminating idealist metaphysics and correctly implementing the policies and principles of inner-party struggle. When solving the question of line struggle within the party, Comrade Mao Zedong always called on us to study Marxist philosophy and apply it to the study of historical experience. The victory of the Yanan rectification study can also be said to be a victory of the whole party, especially that of the senior cadres, in studying and applying dialectical materialism and historical materialism to overcome idealism and metaphysics. In the long period since then, the policies and principles directing inner-party struggle and other political movements have also been better implemented, because of the great improvement in Marxist ideology in the party and the greater exchange of common dialog. The harm caused our party when the idealism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild and metaphysics was rampant and comrades suffered due to the lack of Marxist materialist dialectics over the past decade and more has already been painful enough. This memory, which is still fresh in our minds, has deeply educated us to understand that we definitely cannot look down on the question of straightening out the ideological line. The debate on practice as the sole criterion of truth is now extensively developing in depth for the sake of more thoroughly solving this question. Only by properly solving this question can we secure the correct implementation of our political and organizational lines.

Second, China was a country under thousands of years of feudal autocratic domination with a very large petty bourgeois class. The socialist new China which emerged from the womb of a semifeudal semicolon was founded less than 30 years ago. There has always been a very high ratio of party comrades with petty bourgeois backgrounds.

These social and historical factors caused feudal, petty bourgeois and bourgeois ideologies and old habits to be easily reflected in the party. These things are incompatible with party spirit, will invariably come into conflict with the correct policies and principles of the party, including policies and principles on the question of inner-party struggle, and will become the breeding ground that gives rise to and develops incorrect lines which are injurious to the party and state. Judging from history, the moment a wind blows, these weeds that waver to the "left" and right will go to the extreme, especially those comrades interested in slogans and terms of the "left." It is quite easy for these narrowminded comrades to deal with historical problems with the

mentality of seeking revenge. In the line struggle within the party, they will invariably become separated from the correct guidance of the party, make mistakes and stumble. Has this not something to do with the corrosion and influence of various nonproletarian ideas? This has informed us that no matter how long ago a party member joined the party, he must always pay attention to becoming proletarian in his ideology, strictly disciplining himself and constantly strengthening his ability to resist the influence of nonproletarian ideas and old habits. The better he is able to do so, the more the party will be able to eliminate the serious aftermaths left behind from the inner-party struggle distorted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and successfully carry out the building of the party in the new period under the guidance of the correct line, policies and principles of the CCP Central Committee.

Our party is a proletarian revolutionary party that is always looking toward the future. Our study of historical experiences has always been for the sake of cutting down future mistakes and carrying out the work of the party more properly. From the 1942 Yanan work style rectification to the Seventh CCP Congress in 1945, the whole party greatly raised its Marxist-Leninist level, more fully understood Comrade Mao Zedong's correct line, cultivated a fine style of inner-party struggle and achieved unprecedented solidarity and unity ideologically, politically and organizationally by studying the experiences of line struggle in party history. At this great historical turning point, we scored victories in driving out Japanese imperialism, overthrowing Chiang Kai-shek and liberating the whole of China. A very great change has now taken place in the condition of class and class struggle in the country. There will also be new special features in the inner-party struggle. However, historical experiences are still very useful. So long as the whole party, particularly the senior cadres of the party, are good at directing the study of history with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and applying the traditional experience of inner-party struggle under the new condition, we shall be able to properly deal with the various problems in party building, prevent and eliminate factors that might create any political disorder and enable the whole party to closely rally round the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, use the practice of uniting in common struggle to firmly and resolutely implement the political line of the party and score another great victory at this great historical turning point!

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THE CHARACTERISTICS OF CLASS STRUGGLE IN PRESENT-DAY CHINA

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[Article by Ji Xueshi [0679 1331 1395]]

[Text] Editor's Note: How to deal with classes, class contradictions and class struggle in China's socialist stage is an important theoretical question that has often come up in our day-to-day work. It also involves the issue of integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, a question that must be settled once and for all. For a long time this issue was so badly messed up by Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and that "authority on theory" that it was in great confusion. In studying Comrade Hua Guofeng's government work report, many comrades have been studying and discussing this question on the basis of their positive and negative experiences. To clarify this issue on the basis of integrating theory with practice, clear up muddled thinking and eliminate the remnant poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," this journal plans to publish a number of articles on this question.

In his government work report at the second session of the Fifth NPC, Comrade Hua Guofeng penetratingly summarized the historical experience of class struggle in China and scientifically analyzed the fundamental changes in the country's class situation. He clearly pointed out that the landlords and rich peasants as a class had been abolished, while the capitalists as a class no longer existed. However, he noted, different categories of class enemies and class struggle would continue to prevail. He called for continued efforts to conduct class struggle in the economic, political and ideological spheres. This assertion fully conforms to the current objective reality and proves that truth comes from practice, indicating that China's socialist revolution has won great victories and that class struggle has entered a new stage. This assertion provides the

theoretical basis for shifting the focus of party work to socialist modernization. Only by displaying a vigorous spirit and by recognizing the new characteristics of class struggle brought about by changes in our country's class situation can we ideologically keep in step with the shifting of the focus of the whole party's work to the four modernizations with one heart and one mind. Only thus can we correctly conduct class struggle and avoid "leftist" or rightist tendencies.

Currently there is a somewhat vague understanding of the question of how to deal with class struggle. Some comrades hold that class struggle should be abandoned with the abolition in our country of one class exploiting another. Others maintain that since there is still class struggle in the country it is inappropriate to say that one class exploiting another has disappeared. These views tend to equate the abolition of exploiting classes with the abolition of class struggle. They fail to realize that class struggle in our country is the remnant of the class struggle left over from the past under socialist conditions, that is, class struggle without the exploiting classes. This is a particular historical stage for the gradual abolition of class struggle.

Marxism views the existence of classes merely as being related to certain historical stages in the development of production. The place people occupy in the structure of the social economy is primarily one of controlling the means of production, the only criterion for dividing classes. Lenin said: "Classes are groups of people in which one group can appropriate the labor of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of the social economy." ("A Great Beginning," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 10) China has abolished the economic base on which the exploiting classes depend for their existence, and after many years of education, struggle and remolding, the exploiters as a class have been abolished. However, class struggle is not over yet. Among the remnants of the exploiting classes there are still counter-revolutionaries and enemy secret agents, criminals and degenerate elements who have seriously disrupted socialist order, corrupt elements, embezzlers and profiteers, as well as the remnants of the "gang of four." Stubbornly taking the reactionary stand of the exploiting class, they continue to carry out antisocialist economic activities. The struggle waged by the working class and masses against them still constitutes class struggle. Due to the relatively independent nature of ideology, although the exploiters as a class have been abolished, their ideas have not been wiped out but continue to rot and spread their poison to corrupt our lives. Thus, there is still class struggle in the ideological sphere. Moreover, class struggle in the country is closely linked with the class struggle waged on an international scale. Therefore, class struggle will remain in our country for a long time.

Is our country's present class struggle then totally identical with past class struggles? Of course not. Its many new characteristics are expressed primarily in the following ways:

First, class struggle in present-day China is a struggle against the remnants of the exploiting classes.

In a class society, class struggle is always an integral struggle between two major opposing classes and pervades that society from beginning to end. This is not true in a socialist society, which is dedicated to the task of ultimately abolishing classes. Therefore, an integral struggle between opposing classes cannot pervade that society from beginning to end. Before the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was basically completed in our country, the bourgeoisie was no longer politically dominant. Yet they still owned the means of production, and, therefore, as a class they engaged the proletariat in a trial of strength. The class struggle conducted at that time remained an integral struggle between two opposing classes. Following the basic completion of the ownership of the means of production and with the cancellation of fixed interest, the bourgeoisie as a class ceased to exist. After going through a long period of remolding, the vast majority of exploiters such as landlords and rich peasants have become laborers earning their own living. Thus, our country's current class struggle is no longer an integral struggle between two major opposing classes, but one directed against the remnants of the exploiting classes (including newly emerged hostile elements). The emergence and disappearance of a class is in every respect a historical process. As a rule, no exploiting class emerges or disappears suddenly. The complete abolition of classes generally follows the pattern of first abolishing the exploiting classes, then eliminating the remnants of the exploiting classes and then wiping out all class differences. Currently China is in the particular historical stage of wiping out the remnants of the exploiting classes. In terms of the existing conditions in the country, our present level of social production is still very low, while the relations of production and certain aspects of the superstructure are still not perfect. In view of the deep-rooted influence of the exploitation system, it is quite possible that new exploiters and new class enemies will be engendered. However, since China has in fact eliminated the feudal and capitalist systems of exploitation and remolded the system of small production, the socialist system has stabilized its rule. As long as class struggle is correctly conducted and the vigorous development of social production is called for, the exploiters can only carry on as part of social labor and not as a social group owning the means of production and exploiting other people's labor. This means that they can no longer operate as an open and integral exploiting class.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" completely denied the basic characteristics of class struggle in present-day China. They not only recognized the existence of the original exploiting classes but alleged that under socialism there was "a bourgeois class within the party." They looked for the "exploiting classes" in places where no exploiting classes were around and fabricated "class struggle" in places where there was no class struggle. In their opinion, an integral struggle between two

major opposing classes "always" exists in socialist society. This remnant pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has even now not been completely eliminated. Some people still use this criterion to assess the situation of class struggle in present-day China, even mistaking the view that the exploiters as a class have been eliminated for the so-called "notion that class struggle has died out." If this erroneous view is not corrected, it will be impossible to clearly understand the new characteristics of class struggle in present-day China, correctly conduct class struggle and prevent class struggle from becoming intensified.

Second, class struggle in present-day China is now subordinate to the overriding task of realizing the four modernizations.

With socialist transformation having won great and decisive victories, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie--no longer the country's principal contradiction--has been basically solved. Class struggle thus should not be the key link in all fields of work. Comrade Mao Zedong said in 1957: "From emancipating the productive forces, our basic task has changed to safeguarding and developing them under the new relations of production." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") He later repeatedly emphasized shifting the focus of work to the economic sector and to the technical revolution. However, due to our failure to correctly assess the situation of class struggle, we made a number of mistakes in directing work. As a result of the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in particular, shifting the focus of work was not carried out. Besides overemphasizing the importance of class struggle following the basic completion of the socialist transformation in our country, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" accused those who were boosting production of "abandoning the key link and reversing the direction" and alleged that "the day the four modernizations are realized, capitalism will be restored." On the pretext of "never forgetting class struggle," they smashed socialist production everywhere and caused serious damage to socialist construction. This drove the national economy to the brink of collapse.

The lessons of history show that to correctly carry out class struggle it is necessary to handle well the relationships between class struggle and the struggle for production. Marxism views the struggle for production as human society's most basic practice, and classes and class struggle as the result of social production having developed to a certain stage. Class struggle thus is the means and not the end. When we communists conduct class struggle, we aim at releasing and developing the productive forces and not at struggling for struggle's sake. If it is said that, before the basic completion of the socialist transformation, class struggle was conducted primarily for the purpose of transforming the ownership of the means of production, changing the old relations of production and emancipating the productive forces, then

class struggle in present-day China is conducted primarily with socialist modernization in mind. We undertake class struggle to safeguard and promote the development of the productive forces and speed up the pace of the four modernizations. The realization of the modernization program is in the fundamental interests of the people of China's various nationalities; it is the greatest politics. Since this is a profound revolution, it is bound to arouse the hostility and sabotage of a handful of class enemies. According to the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, "there are still a few counterrevolutionaries and criminals in our country who are hostile to and wreck our country's socialist modernization. We must not slacken in our struggle against them and thus weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat." We must therefore correctly carry out class struggle, and to do so it is necessary to center around the work of realizing the four modernizations and to serve this central task.

Third, large-scale and stormy class struggles are already over in present-day China.

With the transformation of our society's principal contradiction, changes are bound to occur in class struggle in both form and scale. Class struggles in the past usually centered around basic changes in social, political and economic institutions; generally they were a major, life-or-death struggle between two major opposing classes. Inevitably they were accompanied by massive and stormy class struggles in which the masses participated. However, following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the bourgeoisie as a class no longer exists. With the balance of class forces having undergone fundamental changes, the question of which will win, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, has basically been settled. Comrade Mao Zedong clearly pointed out in 1957: Large-scale and stormy mass class struggles in China's revolutionary stage are in the main over. As a result of an unduly serious assessment of the class struggle situation at a later stage, unending and large-scale mass class struggles were unfolded. During the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took advantage of our incorrect assessment of the situation of class struggle to carry out counterrevolutionary activities. This pushed stormy class struggle to new heights and plunged the whole country into great turmoil. In his government work report at the second session of the Fifth NPC, Comrade Hua Guofeng explicitly pointed out that massive and stormy mass class struggle would hereafter not be required. This fully conforms to the actual conditions in present-day China. In conducting class struggle against a few class enemies, we rely primarily on the socialist legal system, a powerful weapon for dealing relentless blows at their acts of sabotage. This is an effective way of neither stepping up nor reducing the scope of struggle. Where class enemies appear, we struggle against them right there. Where they operate on an extensive scale, they are brought under control on that scale. Only by proceeding from actual conditions and solving problems realistically

will it be possible to consolidate and develop a political situation of stability and unity.

Fourth, in the country at the moment there is no longer class struggle among the people.

We used to say in the past that, with regard to class struggle conducted in our country, except for a few cases involving contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, a large part of class struggle was conducted among the people. This was correct in referring to the national bourgeoisie when they still existed as a class. The concept of people in historical terms varies in content from country to country as well as from one historical period to another. Before China's socialist transformation was in the main completed, the people comprised the workers, peasants, intellectuals, the national bourgeoisie, and so forth. Due to the conditions in China, "the contradictions between the workers and the national bourgeoisie belong to the contradictions among the people, while the class struggle between the working class and the national bourgeoisie generally belongs to the class struggle conducted among the people." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Following the victory of the socialist revolution, the class relations among our people also underwent fundamental changes, and the capitalists as an exploiting class no longer existed. The masters of a socialist society are the socialist workers, peasants, intellectuals and patriots who uphold socialism. Our people now consist primarily of laborers, that is, physical and mental laborers. Regardless of contradictions that exist between them, there are no fundamental conflicts of interest. There are neither class antagonisms nor contradictions between the oppressors and the oppressed and between the exploiters and the exploited. Their common interests lie in building and developing socialist enterprises. Among the people, therefore, there is no longer struggle between two opposing classes. While under the condition of the parallel existence of ownership by the whole people and collective ownership there still are class distinctions and contradictions between workers and peasants, their fundamental interests are identical. On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, the contradictions can readily be adjusted and resolved without resorting to class struggle. In discussing the universality of contradiction in his essay "On Contradiction" in 1937, Comrade Mao Zedong referred to the worker-peasant relationships in the Soviet Union, the first socialist country, under Stalin's leadership. He said: "Even under the social conditions existing in the Soviet Union, there is a difference between workers and peasants. This difference is a contradiction, although, unlike the contradiction between labor and capital, it will not intensify into antagonism or assume the form of class struggle." This scientific assertion by Comrade Mao Zedong is also applicable to the worker-peasant relationships in present-day Chinese society. We cannot say there is class struggle among the working people. By implication, class struggle refers to the struggle between the exploiting classes and those who are exploited. While both Marx and

Lenin spoke of class struggle among the "people," they generally referred to the struggle between the exploiting classes and those who are exploited. For example, Lenin said in the article "The Two Strategies of the Social Democratic Party in the Democratic Revolution" that during the bourgeois democratic revolution the "people" included not only the proletarians and peasants but also the democratic bourgeoisie. The reference to the existence of class struggle among the people at that time meant the struggle between the proletariat and peasants on the one hand and the democratic bourgeoisie on the other. The concept of class struggle, therefore, is not applicable to the laboring people.

There are generally two types of contradictions among the laboring people in present-day China. One type arises from people's differing understanding of the objective world or from the distinctions between the advanced and the less advanced. The other type arises from the contradictions reflected by the class struggle or those influenced by it. For example, some people who have been corrupted by the notions of the exploiting classes have become addicted to bureaucracy, love of privilege, taking the back door, anarchism, indulging in the comforts of life and shunning work, extravagance and other evil symptoms. They are also prone to doing the wrong things, such as feathering their own nests at the expense of public welfare. These manifestations of class struggle among the people are distinct from directly conducted class struggle. This means that they are not inherent among the laboring people but are influenced by the notions of the exploiting classes. They are the mistakes made by good people and not acts of sabotage committed by the class enemies. If we fail to observe this distinction and equate one with the other, we will regard those who make mistakes while they are under the influence of the notions of the exploiting classes as the target of class struggle. In struggling against such people and thus confusing two different types of contradictions, we are likely to intensify class struggle. Naturally, there are evildoers among the people, while degenerate elements may be engendered within the party. However, these are external problems, not those found among the people. Under given conditions, even two different types of contradictions can transform each other. Therefore, we must have a clear understanding of the class struggle as it is reflected among the people or influences them and not treat it lightly. This calls for regularly strengthening ideological and political work and unfolding, if necessary, struggle in the ideological sphere. As Comrade Hua Guofeng pointed out in his government work report at the second session of the Fifth NPC: "The influence of bourgeois and feudal ideas among the people will last for a long time, and a prolonged period of struggle and education is required to counter these influences."

Combating the influence of the notions of all exploiting classes among the people should be distinguished from opposing a few class enemies who attack the proletariat in the ideological sphere for counterrevolutionary motives. "It is easy to handle those undisguised

counterrevolutionaries and elements who disrupt socialist enterprises by simply denying them the freedom of speech." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Combating the influence of the notions of the exploiting classes among the people should be undertaken in a democratic way and by means of persuasive education and not through coercion. Only in this way will it be possible to expose the reactionary nature of the notions of the exploiting classes and thus enable the people to resist their erosion and eliminate their influence. They will thus raise their understanding if they are educated in this way.

For a long time Lin Biao and the "gang of four" abused the concept of class struggle and artificially fabricated class struggle everywhere. The ideological sphere, in particular, provided them with a venue for intensifying class struggle. By imposing fascist cultural autocracy on the masses and indiscriminately promoting "literary inquisitions," they branded academic and ideological questions as political issues. They also exaggerated political questions and raised them to the level of contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. Moreover, they imposed "all-round dictatorship" in the ideological sphere and branded people as counterrevolutionaries as they pleased. As a result of such labels as "ideological offenders" and the complete reversal of the relationships between ourselves and the enemy, many comrades suffered injustices and were persecuted. We must learn from these examples and strictly distinguish between and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions. Currently, since the remnant pernicious influence of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has not been completely eliminated and the fallacy of "rather left than right" has not been uprooted, we must pay particular attention to the "leftist" tendency in distinguishing between and handling the two different types of contradictions. Naturally, we should try to prevent the possible emergence of another trend.

Fifth, the general trend of class struggle in present-day China is one of moving toward relaxation instead of becoming increasingly intensified.

Before the proletariat seized state power, class struggle generally proceeded from struggle in the economic sphere to that in the political sphere until finally armed struggle was waged to seize political power. It was a struggle that was conducted on an increasingly violent and broader scale. After the proletariat seized political power, class struggle in the socialist society began to develop in wavelike motions, alternately waxing and waning and gradually moving toward relaxation. Before the three major transformations were completed, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was a violent one to settle the issue of who would win. Since the basic completion of the three major transformations, although class struggle sometimes has been very violent, generally it has moved toward relaxation. This is because, with the development of our country's socialist revolution and

construction and through our unremitting struggles, the remnant forces of the exploiting classes have waned, and their numbers will become fewer and fewer. Is it possible, then, that a major reversal will appear in the future? Will there be a danger of restoration and retrogression? We believe that our country's socialist system has passed rigid tests. It has consolidated its stable rule. Therefore, it will be very difficult for the class enemies at home to restore themselves and to turn back the wheel of history. Internationally we are still threatened by imperialism, especially social imperialism. Moreover, the level of our country's productive forces is still very low, and we have not been able to surpass the capitalist countries in labor productivity. This does not indicate that we have finally triumphed over capitalism. We also cannot be sure that careerists will not appear in the future, and we must therefore not lose our revolutionary vigilance. However, it is also wrong to overestimate the danger of restoration and make much ado about nothing. As long as the central leadership is in the hands of Marxists, and if they follow the correct line, formulate correct policies, fully promote democracy, strengthen the socialist legal system, speed up the pace of the four modernizations and correctly conduct class struggle, China will be able to advance along the socialist road and will be able to steer clear of major reversals and twists and turns.

In sum, the primary characteristics of class struggle indicate that the class struggle in present-day China is radically different from past struggles, which simply assumed their remnant forms. Only by clearly recognizing the basic characteristics of class struggle in present-day China we can proceed from objective reality and conduct class struggle realistically and correctly so that it will neither intensify nor weaken. It will then serve socialist modernization in a better way and create conditions for completely abolishing classes and finally realizing communism.

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ON SIMPLE CLASS FEELINGS

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[Article by Di Feng [5441 2800]]

[Text] It is now possible to see more and more clearly that the emancipation of our thinking from the spiritual shackles of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" is of vital significance to the four modernizations. However, some comrades still do not see this clearly enough. Their thinking remains ossified or partly ossified. They say: "We have simple class feelings. We feel it is emotionally unjustifiable to adopt the attitude of seeking truth from facts toward the revolutionary leader and his revolutionary theories." Simple class feelings apparently have become a major obstacle to the emancipation of these comrades' minds.

Of course, we should not dismiss these simple class feelings by simply saying "no." We must make a concrete analysis.

Simple class feelings are a kind of spontaneous class consciousness. All working people who suffered in the old society had these class feelings. They were clear about what to love and what to hate. Poor and lower-middle peasants were long oppressed politically and exploited economically by the landlords. They naturally hated the landlords, who rode roughshod over them. The workers were long exploited by the capitalists and lived in hunger and cold. They naturally hated the capitalists to the very marrow of their bones. Living in an abyss of misery, the working people were always hoping for good times. The Communist Party came along and led the people to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes. As a result, the poor and lower-middle peasants were allocated land, and the workers got more pay. They became political masters of their country. They naturally cherished a warm love for the party and its leader, held them in esteem and took them as their "saviors." This kind of class feelings is spontaneous class consciousness and is highly valuable. It is a good foundation for receiving a Marxist education and a quality for doing revolutionary work well. It was this kind of class feelings that made many comrades of our revolutionary ranks take the revolutionary path.

However, proletarian revolutionaries take dialectical materialism and historical materialism as their world outlook. One who stands still at the stage of simple class feelings cannot become a genuine Marxist. The weakest point of simple class feelings is that they emerge spontaneously and not consciously. They are a reflection of matter directly perceived through the senses. They are perceptual knowledge and not rational knowledge. People who have simple class feelings can see only the appearance and not the essence of a matter and only one side and not any other side of a matter. In a word, they see only the trees and not the forest; their scope of vision is very narrow. Those who apply these feelings in guiding a revolutionary struggle cannot see the whole situation and look into the future. They seek immediate interests at the expense of long-term ones and try to produce quick results at the expense of future gains.

The "Luddite movement" which occurred in Britain during the 1770's and 1780's [dates as published] was a struggle based on simple class feelings. The participants could not distinguish between the machines and the capitalist system which exploited and enslaved the workers by means of the machines. They attributed their sufferings wholly to the use of machines and to the factory owners who employed them. For this reason, the struggle was expressed directly by the primitive method of burning factory buildings, smashing the machines and beating the factory owners. As Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "In its knowledge of capitalist society, the proletariat was only in the perceptual stage of cognition in the first period of its practice, the period of machine smashing and spontaneous struggle; it knew only some of the aspects and the external relations of the phenomena of capitalism." ("On Practice") Struggle of this kind may satisfy the feelings for the time being or yield temporary economic benefits. Yet it can neither stop the extensive use of machines nor basically solve the problems concerning the bloodsucking capitalist system.

Comrade Liu Jiemei, who once deviated ideologically 20 years ago, was moved by simple class feelings to join the agrarian reform during the initial period after liberation. He came from a family which had earned a living as beggars for three generations and as hired peasants for two generations. The sufferings and humiliations he had experienced in the old society were beyond description. For this reason, he had a deep hatred of the landlords who had oppressed and exploited him. When his hometown was liberated, the prefectural committee secretary saw that he lived in poverty and gave his family 60 jin of rice and some bedclothes. He was moved to tears. He said: "I will do anything the Communist Party wants me to do, even if I have to be imprisoned or killed." He was very active during the campaign to suppress counterrevolutionaries and during the agrarian reform. He left very happy when he was allotted land, a house and farm tools after the agrarian reform. However, he did not understand that the agrarian reform was just a task of the democratic revolution led by our party and that the socialist revolution had to be

carried out after the completion of this task. During the socialist upsurge in the countryside, he saw that the land he had been allotted had to be given to the agricultural cooperative and that private ownership was to be replaced by collective ownership. He resented this. He thought that "the cooperative ties up people hand and foot and does not allow them freedom." He went against socialism for some time and almost slipped back to the revolutionary path. Later, educated by the party, he changed for the better and made progress. This event shows that one who has only simple class feelings but not Marxist-Leninist thinking may take part in some revolutionary struggles but never carry the proletarian revolutionary cause through to the end.

It should also be seen that one who starts from simple class feelings cannot correctly understand and carry out the party's line and policies but will be easily captured by the opportunist line. The party's line and policies are not drawn up by wishful thinking but are based on correct observation and analysis of the situation of class struggles at home and abroad and the development of and changes in the relations between classes. They are also based on objective laws. For example, our party encouraged development of national capitalism instead of wiping it out during the democratic revolution. Nor did it wipe out national capitalism during the socialist period. Instead, it adopted the policy of using, restricting and transforming national capitalism for some time and then transformed capitalist ownership into ownership by the whole people by the method of redemption. We can easily understand the correctness of this policy by taking the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. However, people who have simple class feelings do not accept this. They find this inconceivable and may even regard it as a rightist deviation. In their eyes, capitalism is an exploiting system and should not be allowed to exist for even a single day. Facts show that their viewpoint is impractical and that our party's policies are compatible with Marxism-Leninism and represent the basic interests of the proletariat and the people.

The "left" and right opportunist lines which run counter to the party's correct line are characterized by the separation of the subjective from the objective and the divorce of knowledge from practice. The "left," which puts on the cloak of Marxism, is more deceptive than the right. To push their line and policies, the ultraleftists often make use of some people's simple class feelings, put forward ultraleftist slogans and wage drastic struggles, thus sidetracking the revolution. During the period of the second revolutionary civil war, Wang Ming disguised himself as more revolutionary than anyone else and styled himself a 100-percent Bolshevik. He rejected the analysis of classes in Chinese society, opposed the party's policy of protecting national capitalism and proposed that the property of industrialists and merchants be confiscated. He objected to the party's policy of giving rich peasants a way out economically and giving landlords a way out in daily life, suggested allotting no land to the landlords and poor fields to rich

peasants, and so forth. At that time the Marxists represented by Comrade Mao Zedong firmly objected to this ultraleftist policy. However, many comrades could not distinguish between the right and wrong lines. They held that "left" was revolutionary and that a struggle should be drastic. They therefore followed the wrong line. Why? A very important reason was that they lacked Marxism-Leninism, were obsessed by simple class feelings and substituted feelings for the party's line and policies. This was a very impressive lesson for us.

However, we learned a still more impressive lesson during the decade when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild. As we know, Comrade Mao Zedong performed great feats for the Chinese revolution. Being the party's leader, he enjoyed high prestige among the Chinese people. The whole party and all Chinese people vigorously supported and warmly loved their leader. However, some comrades did not grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought completely and accurately. Their understanding of the leader's relations with the masses, the classes and the political party and their understanding of the distinction between the controversy over differing opinions and the two-line and class struggles were very shallow and even remained at the stage of simple class feelings. Taking advantage of their special status, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" grasped this weak point of these comrades, advocated "vigorously upholding" and "obeying orders whether you understand them or not," and pushed the ultraleftist line. "Obeying orders whether you understand them or not" meant blind and absolute obedience. This was a new kind of obscurantism and slavish mentality. If a correct instruction or measure is carried out without being understood, there can be no harm. If a wrong instruction or measure is carried out without being understood, the party, the state and the people will no doubt be harmed. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" regarded a large group of proletarian revolutionaries and leading cadres of the older generation as "capitalist roaders" and "revisionists" and toppled them. Can we say that we understood what this was about? They babbled that there had been a confrontation between a revisionist, sinister line and the party's correct line in the 17 years after liberation. Can we say that we understood what this was about? Many comrades did not understand what all these things were about, and yet they took them as the "highest instructions" and blindly carried them out. What was the outcome? Good rather than bad people were toppled, and the correct line rather than the wrong one was criticized and repudiated. Looking back now, we can see that some comrades who were influenced by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" could not distinguish between the right and wrong lines and did foolish things of one sort or another. Did they not suffer from their simple class feelings? We should always remember this lesson.

Why do some comrades say that they feel it is emotionally unjustifiable to adopt the attitude of seeking truth from facts toward the revolutionary leader and his revolutionary theories during the current campaign to emancipate the mind? This is chiefly the result of the

modern fetishes created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They deified the revolutionary leader, dogmatized his revolutionary theories and trumpeted such ideas as "the acme," "every sentence is truth" and "one sentence carries more weight than 10,000 ordinary sentences." Their pernicious influence is very deep.

Marxism always holds that a revolutionary leader is a human being and not a god. His theories are a summary of the experiences of class struggle under given historical conditions. Some of his theories will become outdated with changes in objective conditions. This is positive and beyond doubt. A revolutionary leader's power of cognition is also restricted by subjective and objective conditions. He cannot see through all things. It is not strange that he sometimes draws a wrong inference on certain problems. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "For myself, I used to have all sorts of non-Marxist ideas; it was only later that I embraced Marxism. I learned a little Marxism from books and took the first steps in remolding my ideology, but it was mainly by taking part in class struggle over the years that I came to be remolded. And if I am to make further progress, I must continue to learn; otherwise I shall lag behind." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") He did not say this out of modesty. He spoke the truth. This shows that a revolutionary leader is not a born "sage" and has to go on studying, remolding himself and making progress. If a revolutionary leader is taken as a god and his theories as dogmas, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought cannot be enriched and developed, and the proletarian revolutionary cause cannot win final victory.

Throughout his life Lenin fought to defend and develop Marxism. He also adopted the attitude of seeking truth from facts toward the Marxist theories. He did not rigidly adhere to individual phrases or sentences. He was good at enriching and developing what Marx and Engels had said. He also dared to put forward new concepts and draw new conclusions on what they had not mentioned. Basing himself on some characteristics of the era in which capitalism developed to imperialism, he put forward the viewpoint that socialism might win in one country first, thereby changing the former concept of Marx and Engels. Everyone knows this well. Lenin also straightforwardly pointed out the mistakes Marx and Engels had made in assessing the revolutionary situation. For example, they made many mistakes regarding whether the 1848 German revolution could triumph and in their participation in the 1848-1849 campaign to strive for a constitution for the German Empire. Stalin made important contributions to the defense of Marxism-Leninism, but he did not blindly follow certain Marxist arguments. He wrote to a commissar of the Central Political Bureau in 1934 expressing his disagreement with a viewpoint in Engels' article "The Foreign Policy of the Russian Czarist Government." He pointed out that this article "had many defects which, if not criticized when published, would confuse the readers." According to the viewpoint of modern fetishes, Lenin and Stalin would be labeled as traitors and heretics for treating Marxism in this way. However, facts show that

that Lenin and Stalin were entirely correct in doing so and that their attitude toward Marxism was serious.

As did the great Lenin, so did Comrade Mao Zedong persistently adopt the attitude of seeking truth from facts toward the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. He did not blindly follow what they had said. He always linked the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. He had a deep hatred of book worship, pointing out that it "is extremely dangerous and may even lead one onto the road of counterrevolution." ("Oppose Book Worship") When he proposed in 1958 that the party's senior cadres read the two books entitled "Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on Communist Society" and "Problems of Socialist Economy in the Soviet Union," he emphatically pointed out that it was necessary to read them in light of the realities of China's socialist construction and to analyze them and see which parts were correct and which were incorrect or not entirely correct. This instruction by Comrade Mao Zedong played an excellent role in further rectifying our style of study and in the study of the new conditions and new problems during the socialist period. Upon hearing what he had said, our comrades did not feel that he held Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in contempt, let alone that he was opposed to them. If Comrade Mao Zedong could adopt this scientific attitude toward the proletarian revolutionary teachers and their theories, why are we wrong in adopting the same attitude?

Ours is a great party having honorable revolutionary traditions and fine revolutionary styles. For a long time, inner-party democracy was quite normal, without any modern fetishes. The tide of modern fetishes was whipped up by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in an attempt to usurp party and state power. It was a product of the special historical conditions of the Great Cultural Revolution. Bearing in mind the Soviet Union's historical experience, our party opposes modern fetishes. The documents of the eighth party congress and the article "More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" specially examined this question. After that, Comrade Mao Zedong also talked about the question of "following a leader." He said: A person may be correct or incorrect. We shall follow him if he is correct and not if he is incorrect. We should not be muddleheaded and follow him blindly. We should follow the one who has the truth in his hand. We obey him if he has the truth in his hand, no matter if he is a nightsoil collector, a coal miner or a scavenger. There is no reason for us to follow the one who does not have the truth in his hand, even if he is the top "official." Comrade Mao Zedong's words expounded the matter so profoundly. This idea was diametrically opposed to modern fetishes. However, during the Great Cultural Revolution we forgot this idea and were confused by modern fetishes, obscurantism and the slavish mentality created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Some comrades today cannot change their feelings in the course of emancipating the mind, because they actually cannot throw off the shackles of modern fetishes and move to the side

of seeking truth from facts and of genuine Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This problem must be solved very well.

Whether we should adopt the attitude of seeking truth from facts toward a person or a matter is a question of whether we should uphold the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. In the eyes of Marxist-Leninists, social practice is the sole criterion for testing whether a line is right or wrong and whether a theory is correct or incorrect. We should adhere to what has been proven to be correct by practice. We should rectify what has been proven to be wrong by practice. Simple class feelings are a perceptual thing and cannot be taken as the basis for distinguishing between right and wrong. If we base ourselves on this kind of feelings in approaching a question or handling a matter, we are basing ourselves on subjectivism. This invariably will lead us to idealism. Therefore, only by raising our simple class feelings to the high level of Marxism-Leninism and persistently upholding practice as the sole criterion for testing truth can we march forward in broad strides along the path of emancipating the mind.

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SEVERAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PLANNING AND THE MARKET

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[Article by Liu Guoguang [0491 0948 0342] and Zhao Renwei [6392 0086 0251]]

[Text] Questions Raised by the Practice of Socialist Economic Construction

In his report on work of the government given at the second session of the Fifth NPC, Comrade Hua Guofeng stated that "we must persistently and systematically carry out overall reform of the present economic management system." Overall reform of the economic management system requires our investigation and solution of many important theoretical and practical problems. Among them, the most important is how to correctly understand and handle the relationships between planning and the market.

Opinions differ as to whether the many problems in the present economic life of our country are related to a disregard of the effects of using the market. Some comrades believe that the national economy had once fallen into the state of anarchy or near anarchy as a result of the disruption and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The present problems are not the result of the excess effects of planning or inadequate effects of the market; rather, they are the result of a large number of things outside planning which affect the plan. These comrades believe that the comparatively rapid economic development during the First Five-Year Plan and the adjustment of the national economy in the 1960's was due primarily to the adoption of a whole series of measures designed to strengthen planned management. What is required now is to restore the previous system of planned management through adjustment and consolidation to satisfy the demands of the current shift of emphasis in our work. So what is the point, they conclude, to emphasize using the market or to raise the problem of relations between planning and the market?

To be sure, many problems in our economic life are due primarily to the disruption and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." These include

problems caused by the serious disruption in planned management work. However, this is, to a large extent, related to defects in the economic management system, including a disregard for market effects. Our present economic management system was basically copied from the Soviet Union in the 1950's. It had definite effects on the recovery and development of our country at that time. However, its basic defects are an overconcentration of management power, a lack of self-management for enterprises, excessive and overrigid control imposed by national planning and a disregard for the effects of the market and the law of value. Although this system was reformed somewhat in the years that followed, on the whole such reforms were still within the confines of centralization versus decentralization. Relations between the state and the enterprises or between planning and the market were seldom touched upon. Therefore, the present economic management system has not yet transcended its original framework. Thus, the various problems brought about by excessive centralization of national planning and the lack of the market mechanism have not yet been solved. For instance, in the arrangement of production plans, enterprises rely primarily on instructive plans from a higher level. Such plans fail to reflect the changing demands of society for different types of goods. In the formulation of prices of goods, because of a disregard for the demands of the law of value and various factors influencing the price of goods, such as the relation between supply and demand, the planned price of many goods has deviated greatly from their value and has remained frozen for a long period. Such unrealistic prices are detrimental not only to the economic accounting of enterprises but also to the adjustment of relations between supply and demand. This also seriously hampers the harmony of the proportionate relations among various departments of the national economy. Furthermore, such touchy problems as the supply system of centralized income and expenditures in raising and allocating capital, the self-reliant tendency of "small and complete" and "large and complete" in the structure of enterprises, and so on have remained unresolved over a long period. All these problems are related to excessive control of the economic system and the lack of regulation by the market. This is what the communique of the third plenum of our 11th CCP Central Committee meant by the overconcentration of management power. This is also what Comrade Hua Guofeng meant by his criticism of the disregard for the law of value of commodity production in economic management. If this kind of management system is not completely reformed, it will inevitably come into conflict with the development of socialist modernization. Therefore, whether we can carry out the shift of emphasis in our work and accelerate the realization of the four modernizations hinges on whether we acknowledge the need for overall reforms of this system.

In the eight-character principle of readjusting, reforming, consolidating and improving, readjustment is the core. Here we face a problem: Do the relations between planning and the market involve only the reform of the economic system and not the adjustment of the national economy? There is a view that we can talk only about the decentralization of management and

market effects during times of reforms, whereas during the readjustment of the national economy we can only stress centralization and planned readjustment. Of course, it is necessary to emphasize centralization if we are to make good efforts to readjust the national economy. Otherwise, it will be impossible to readjust the important proportionate relations in the national economy which have been dislocated. However, if we do not pay adequate attention to mobilizing the enthusiasm of the various quarters through the transfer downward of management power and the use of the market mechanism, it will be impossible to fulfill the task of readjustment smoothly. It may well be asked: If we rely solely on the guidance of national planning without using the economic lever of pricing and readjusting the price parities among various kinds of goods, is it possible to improve upon the seriously dislocated proportionate relations among various departments of the economy to achieve harmonious development between industry and agriculture, heavy and light industries, raw material and fuel industries and processing industries? Furthermore, readjustment also involves the solution of a whole range of problems related to the closure, suspension, division and transfer of enterprises. This certainly requires planned and systematic execution. However, in deciding which enterprise should be closed, suspended, divided or transferred and which enterprise should continue operation and develop production, it is necessary to base our consideration upon the management performance of enterprises, with special reference to the quality, variety, consumption, cost of production, and profit and loss of their products. Such decisions should be tested by the law of value and the market mechanism and should not rely solely upon administrative decrees.

In reviewing our past experiences, we must ask why our economic management always shows this cyclical phenomenon: centralization leads to a standstill; a standstill leads to decentralization; decentralization leads to confusion; and confusion ends up in centralization. This is related to our failure to handle the dialectical relations between planning and the market and between centralization and dispersal. It seems less laborious to stamp out chaos by the simple method of centralization. However, this method is incapable of transcending the vicious cycle mentioned above. It requires more energy to integrate planning and the market and to integrate centralization and dispersal in order to acquire flexibility without sacrificing stability and control without sacrificing flexibility. In the process of readjustment we must prevent the revival of the past highly centralized economic management system, which again required a whole series of reforms after a few years' time. Instead, we must insure the proper linkage between readjustment and reform. As Comrade Hua Guofeng pointed out in his report on the work of the government: "The task of the four areas of readjustment, reform, consolidation and improving are interrelated and promote each other." We must carry out the necessary reforms in the process of readjustment and steadily establish a system that integrates regulations through planning and the market.

In short, the proper handling of the relation between planning and the market not only involves the long-term orientation of reform of the economic system itself, but also is closely related to the present readjustment and consolidation of the national economy. This is an important question raised by the practice of economic construction.

Continue and Develop the Discussion on the Question of Commodity Production and the Law of Value Under the Socialist System

Since the founding of our country, informed economic circles have been carrying out prolonged discussions on the questions of commodity production and the law of value under the socialist system. The current discussion on the relations between planning and the market is in fact a continuation of the discussion on the questions mentioned above. When compared with the past, what innovations are there in terms of theory? The following three points deserve our close attention and further investigation.

First, why do commodity production and market relations exist under the socialist system? In the past, most economists explained this by the coexistence of two modes of socialist ownership. This was the prevalent viewpoint during the high tide of discussion in 1959 and the period of readjustment that followed. This viewpoint definitely has its positive significance in overcoming the prevalent communist and egalitarian winds which infringe on the interests of collectively owned units and the peasants. It helps protect the autonomy of collectively owned units as commodity producers. The primary objective at that time was to solve the problem of relations between the two modes of public ownership and the problem of the management system within the people's communes. Theoretical circles are preoccupied with the commodity and currency relations among different owners while neglecting an analysis of commodity and currency relations within the system of ownership by the whole people. This is understandable. As a result, the most common explanation for the existence of commodity and currency relations within the system of ownership by the whole people is the existence of collective ownership as an external cause. According to this viewpoint, within the system of ownership by the whole people, goods only retain the appearance of commodities but in actual fact are no longer so. Thus, the law of value loses its regulating effect, and the value categories are simply instruments of calculation and not an objective economic mechanism. In this way, commodity relations or market relations within the system of ownership by the whole people are in effect denied. As distinct from the past, the practical background for the current discussions is to solve the problem of the management system of the entire socialist economy, with particular reference to the management system within the system of ownership by the whole people. People's attention is naturally transferred to the commodity and currency relations within the system of ownership by the whole people. This leads to the further discovery that the "theory of external cause" mentioned above essentially

fails to explain the existence of commodities and the market under the socialist system. It also fails to account for the market mechanism within the system of ownership by the whole people. As a result, it fails to satisfy the demands for reform of the economic management system under the system of ownership by the whole people. Economists disagree on the explanation for the existence of commodity and currency relations and the market mechanism within the system of ownership by the whole people. Some comrades stress the nature of labor and the relations of material interests, while other comrades stress the immaturity of the socialist system of ownership by the whole people, as distinct from the communist system of ownership by the whole people. However, they unite in rejecting the "theory of external cause" mentioned above. They begin to investigate the cause of the commodity-currency relationship in the context of economic relations within the system of ownership by the whole people. This is certainly a very important development in the theoretical realm. It involves the problems of whether to acknowledge the existence of market relations within the socialist system of ownership by the whole people and whether it is possible to use the market mechanism. If the problems of understanding and using the market mechanism within the system of ownership by the whole people can be correctly resolved, then the solution of the problems of understanding and using the market mechanism within the socialist economy will not be far away.

Second, what kind of relations exist between the law of planning and the law of value and between planning and the market? Does one preclude the other? Are the two haphazardly pieced together? Are the two components interpermeable? In the past, the more popular viewpoint was to regard their relation as antagonistic, with one precluding the other. It appears that, when the law of planning operates, the law of value and the market mechanism will lose their effects. Others may believe that only in those places where planning cannot play its role will the market mechanism exert its complementary effects. On the subject of where the law of planning or the law of value operate, people differ considerably. For instance, some comrades believe that only barter trade is within the sphere regulated by the market, while the rest is within the sphere regulated by planning. Some comrades have a broader view with regard to the sphere of the market and believe that, in addition to barter trade, negotiated purchase is also within the sphere regulated by the market, whereas centralized purchase and purchase by state quotas are within the sphere regulated by planning. Some comrades have an even broader view with regard to the sphere of the market and believe that the circulation of commodities between collective ownership and ownership by the whole people and among various economic units of collective ownership are within the sphere regulated by the market, whereas the circulation of resources within the system of ownership by the whole people is within the sphere regulated by planning. Comrades who hold the broadest perspective with regard to the sphere of the market believe that all resources circulated through the commerce departments are within

the sphere regulated by the market. Only resources allocated by the resource distribution departments are within the sphere regulated by planning. Despite the difference of understanding with regard to the sphere of the market and that of planning, everyone regards their relations either as one precluding the other in the manner of the Taiji Diagram or as one haphazardly pieced together. According to these theories, no matter what portion is regulated by the market or by planning, there is no problem of integrating planned regulation and market regulation. If anything can be called integration, it is simply integration in the manner of haphazardly piecing together planning and the market. In the current discussion, more and more comrades have abandoned this viewpoint. They have begun to realize that between planning and the market in the socialist economy there is an interpermeable relation in which one is within the other. Planned regulation cannot be divorced from the effects of the market, while market regulation cannot be divorced from the guidance of planning. For instance, such areas as the centralized distribution and planned allocation of goods among various units within the system of ownership by the whole people are commonly regarded as regulated by planning to a large extent. Even in these units, prices should be formulated rationally according to the law of value. Only by using such economic levers can we be in a better position to satisfy the demands of proportionate development and facilitate economic accounting. For the systematic organization of production and marketing, it is very important for us to utilize the law of value and the market mechanism to the fullest extent. This requires more realistic planning and the satisfaction of consumers' demands. As for the production and circulation of goods which have to pass through the barter trade, it seems that such processes are regulated entirely by the market. In actual fact, they are also guided by the national procurement plan for agricultural products and are influenced by planned prices. It is obvious that, with regard to the present theoretical discussion, the development from the theory of one precludes the other or the theory of haphazardly piecing together to the theory of internal integration is certainly one step forward. Only thus can we realistically solve the problem of integration presented by the choice between regulation by planning and regulation by the market in the whole socialist economy. This is especially true in the economy of ownership by the whole people. This will bring into full play the regulating effects of the market under the guidance of planning. At the same time, the guiding effects of national planning can be strengthened under the condition of fully utilizing the market.

Third, we must look at the mode of a socialist planned economy. For a long time we regarded the highly centralized system of economic management which we learned from the Soviet Union in the early 1950's as the only mode of socialist planned economy. It appeared that a socialist planned economy consists only of the issuance of planned indices from above, the practice of centralized income and expenditures of financial resources, and the practice of centralized purchasing and marketing in

resource circulation. Anything other than these were regarded as revisionism or heresy. Now we have broadened our horizon. In addition to the mode of socialist planned economy of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, we have seen the mode of planned economy in Yugoslavia and Romania. Among these different models, the degree and form of integration between planning and the market are different. Some are still putting greater emphasis on centralized planning. But at the same time they have greatly enlarged the authority of the enterprises and workers and have also strengthened the use of the market mechanism. Others have the special characteristics of diversified management, worker self-management and the integration of the market economy and social planning. In the current discussion we vary in our understanding of planned regulation and market regulation. However, since we have already broadened our horizon, more and more comrades are beginning to realize that the planned socialist economy is not confined to the mode we were accustomed to in the past. As long as we insist on socialist public ownership and do not allow exploitation of men by men, we can adopt any form of integration of planning and the market. It certainly is a step forward in terms of theory for us to develop from allowing only one mode of planned economy to allowing different modes of socialist planned economy. It must be pointed out that the choice of a model to be established is an extremely important issue concerning the orientation of reform of the economic management system. Of course, we cannot copy the experiences of other countries directly. We must adopt a program which is most suitable to our nation after summarizing our own experiences and using the experiences of other countries for reference. Various plans should be compared to examine the effectiveness of different modes of the market. We already have the necessary conditions for this kind of research and selection in view of the increasing influence among the people of the idea that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. We can certainly find a new socialist planned economic management system which is most suitable for our country's situation to satisfy the demands for realizing the four modernizations.

The Question of the Utilization of Market Effects

The principal task of socialist economic management is to achieve a rational distribution of the socially owned material, financial and human resources according to appropriate proportions so as to achieve a balance between production and demand. It also entails the greatest economy in the use of mechanical and human labor to enhance the effectiveness of economic activities and satisfy the ever-increasing needs of society and the people. To fulfill this basic task, we must have the guidance of national planning as well as use the effects of the market. The question of how to use the market under the condition of a socialist planned economy involves quite a number of issues. Here we will discuss only a few key issues concerning the role of market effects.

First, we must acknowledge the position of socialist enterprises as relatively independent commodity producers and endow them with the necessary managing authority. Utilization of the market cannot be divorced from the activities of various commodity producers in the marketplace. In addition to collectively owned enterprise units and individual consumers, the main body of the socialist market consists primarily of enterprise units owned by the whole people. On the one hand, these units supply the market with various kinds of consumer goods and means of production; on the other, they purchase various means of production and consumer goods from the market. If the state imposes too many and too rigid restrictions on these enterprises so that they have neither authority nor responsibility, the so-called utilization of the market is just empty talk. Therefore, enterprises should be allowed to operate in the market as relatively independent commodity producers, and the self-management of enterprises should be enlarged. Enterprises should be allowed to do what they can by themselves. For instance, national plans concerning production supply and marketing within enterprises should, on the whole, be just for reference. Enterprises should be consulted on such plans. Primarily, the enterprises themselves should formulate their plans in accordance with the needs of the market, their own interest and the actual situation. The system of product allocation and direct distribution should gradually be replaced by commodity exchanges. Only thus can we determine production according to market conditions, arrange supply in accordance with production and achieve the integration of production and demand. Only thus can material resources be rationally distributed and utilized. In the management of finances and capital, the supply system of centralized income and expenditures should gradually be replaced by the self-management of capital and the assumption of sole responsibility for profit and losses in enterprises. The principles of compensated possession of capital and capital investment in accordance with economic results should be adopted. Furthermore, the management results of enterprises should be closely related to the collective interests of the enterprises and the individual interests of the workers. Enterprises should be given greater authority over the acquisition and expenditure of their capital and should assume greater responsibilities. Only then can capital be more rationally utilized and exert greater effects. In terms of wages, the practice of a state monopoly and rigid control over the allocation of labor and the level of wage incentives should be corrected. Enterprises should be able to employ the most qualified workers, while a definite degree of free choice of employment should be tolerated. Only then can the labor force be utilized rationally and the people's enthusiasm be fully mobilized to tap everyone's potentials to the fullest.

Second, in managing the economy we must fully utilize economic means to bring into full play various economic levers (such as prices, costs of production, profits, wages, rewards, credits, interest, taxes and so forth) related to value. With the existence of a commodity economy, such problems as the practicability of planned targets, harmony between

the allocation of social resources and the proportion of social needs, and the efficiency of resource utilization (that is, the comparison of expenses and efficiency) must be reflected through value. They must be regulated by economic levers. Only through the use of value and economic levers can the management results of enterprises be closely linked with the collective material interest of the enterprises and the individual material interests of the workers. This insures the proper handling of relations of material interests among various quarters and spurs enterprises to arrange their economic activities with due consideration for their economic interests and in accordance with the orientation defined by national planning. This is the essence of managing the economy by economic means. If the economy is managed by purely administrative means without using these economic levers or paying due attention to the collective interests of the enterprises and the individual material interests of the workers, we cannot talk about the utilization of the market. It is also harmful to the fulfillment of planned targets. For many years we have convened quite a number of large and small conferences each year to discuss the issues of quality, tapping potentials and innovations, integrated utilization, coordination of specialized departments, and so forth. We have also made many appeals and even raised such issues to the level of the party line. We have also adopted many administrative measures. All these have come to naught. Here we have to take into account the disruption and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." However, the failure to use economic means and the disregard for the utilization of the market mechanism are also important factors in our ineffective utilization of material, financial and human investments. Of course, we do not rule out the use of administrative means and advocate economic means alone. The two cannot be separated. To improve the level of economic management, we must integrate administrative means and economic means organically. This is also an expression of the integration of planned regulation and market regulation in the area of management methods.

Third, we must insure that our prices reflect the demands of the law of value and changes in objective reality. Economic life is ever changing and developing. This is also true of the various objective factors influencing the prices of various products. If prices are artificially pegged over a long period of time, this in reality means replacing the principle of the relative stability of prices with the principle of long-term freezing. Inevitably this will gradually divorce prices from objective reality. This is contrary to objective economic laws. In the past we have invested a great deal of effort and paid dearly to stabilize prices. With regard to goods in short supply, we often failed to adopt the method of price adjustment to increase supply and control demand. Instead, we always resorted to the method of centralized purchase, purchase by state quotas and rationing of supply. People called this method "planned procurement" and "planned supply." It appears to be the very embodiment of the essence of socialist planned economy. To be sure, socialist planned economy certainly can use this method at certain

times and under given conditions. In the past we used the methods of centralized purchase, purchase by state quotas and rationed supply to insure that the balance between supply and demand played its positive role. From now on, within a given period, we must still use these methods. However, these are not the methods which the socialist planned economy should adopt forever. In reality, some socialist countries have never adopted these methods. Some adopted these methods in times of scarcity of resources but abandoned them later. Thus, it can be seen that these methods are not necessarily related to socialist planned economy. They are only temporary measures adopted when certain products vital to the livelihood of the people are in short supply. With regard to the balance between supply and demand, these methods are, after all, remedial. If they are used protractedly and extensively, the end result will be a vicious cycle: when anything is procured and supplied at fixed prices and by quotas, its production will come to a standstill due to the lack of incentive. The supply of such goods will become tense and force us to further the extent of procurement and supply at fixed prices and by quotas. At present we still cannot abolish this method of procurement and supply at fixed prices and by quotas for many of our important agricultural and industrial products. However, we must realize that these are only expedient measures. If we are to fundamentally resolve the contradiction of supply falling short of demand so as to attain a balance between production and demand and proportionate development among various products, we must pay due regard to the law of value. This will bring the prices of products closer to their value and maintain rational relations of price parity. It will also enable prices to reflect changes in objective reality more sensitively. To achieve this, we must grant the enterprises and localities a given degree of authority to keep the planned prices of products floating. Enterprises should be allowed to arrange prices through consultation. This will give rise to a system which integrates centralized prices, floating prices and contracted prices. To be sure, we must be extremely careful, since price changes affect thousands of households. The extent to which price changes and price fluctuations are stipulated should not be divorced from the guidance of planning. With regard to a small number of principal consumer goods closely related to the life of the masses and important means of production having extensive influence on the cost of production, centralized state stipulation of prices and price controls within a given period of time are essential.

Fourth, a certain degree of competition is essential. To utilize the market mechanism in a socialist planned economy, a certain degree of competition should be tolerated. For instance, such problems as the arrangement of production and the organization of supply and marketing in accordance with market demands, putting in capital in accordance with the degree of investment results, personnel arrangements in accordance with the principle of selection of the most qualified personnel, and so forth cannot be divorced from competition in practice. Under the socialist system, various enterprises interact with

each other as relatively independent commodity producers. To develop socialist competition is far more effective than any administrative decrees in raising labor productivity, improving product quality, increasing the variety of goods, improving management, reducing consumption, and so on. This kind of competition puts the management results of various enterprises to the test of the market. It also satisfies consumers' needs for goods of fine quality, low cost and a full range of variety. This will also spur the development of the productive forces of the whole society. If we say that the search for greater material interests is the internal motivating force for enterprises to develop production, then competition among enterprises is the external pressure forcing enterprises to develop production.

As distinct from the life-and-death competition under capitalist private ownership, which is founded on the antagonism of basic interests, competition under socialist public ownership is founded on the unity of basic interests. Socialist competition does not rule out cooperation. In fact, it is premised on cooperation and is integrated with it. It must be restrained by socialist laws and regulations and proceed under the guidance of national planning or social planning. It can therefore avoid the various disastrous effects of capitalist competition. On the other hand, socialist competition has its common points as well as differences with socialist emulation, which we often talk about. Both socialist competition and emulation are means to spur the backward to catch up with the advanced and the advanced to push ahead. However, socialist emulation does not necessarily have any connection with the material interests of those involved. Neither does it involve the problem of eliminating the backward. However, socialist competition is of necessity closely related to the material interests of the competitors and involves the problem of eliminating the backward. In the course of competition, enterprises proven to be incapable of meeting the demands of the market or having poor management results or even losses over a long period of time which are not the result of objective reasons must be eliminated to maintain the collective interest of society. They must either be closed, suspended, divided or transferred, and the material responsibilities of personnel neglecting their duties must be investigated. Workers of eliminated enterprises should be taken care of systematically by the labor departments of the state so that there will not be any unemployment, as is the case when enterprises in the capitalist system are closed.

To exert the regulating effects of the market under the condition of socialist planned economy, we must enlarge the authority of enterprises as relatively independent commodity producers. Furthermore, economic means related to the law of value should be adopted. Allowing for a certain degree of price fluctuation and competition is essential. If used properly, market regulation will be beneficial to the fulfillment of planned targets. In this case, various kinds of social resources will be rationally and effectively utilized, and various kinds of social needs will be satisfied.

The Question of the Strengthening of Planned Guidance

Under the guidance of national planning, proper use of the market mechanism will insure the rational and effective utilization of social labor (mechanical and human mobile labor) in accordance with the proportion of social needs. Judging from this, the orientation of the roles of market regulation and planned regulation are identical. However, there are objective contradictions between the two. Overlooking their identity will result in a failure to use the market positively, while overlooking the contradictions between them will result in a slackening of planned guidance over the market.

The contradiction between planned regulation and market regulation is a result of the difference in the objective basis of planning and the market in socialist economy. The objective basis for the existence of market relations is the continued existence of differences in material interests among people in the socialist stage. The difference in the objective basis results in different perspectives in handling problems for planned regulation and market regulation. Generally speaking, decisions of national planning often tend to attach greater importance to collective interests. The choices of individual commodity producers and consumers in the market tend to attach greater importance to partial and personal interests. Even under the condition of socialist public ownership, choices made by the main body of the market, the individual consumers, according to their personal inclinations and choices made by individual production units according to their individual interests are not necessarily in accord with the collective interests of society. The distribution and utilization of labor, finances and material resources as a result of free choices of this main body of the market are not necessarily economically rational. They might not be in accord with the overall demands of social development. For instance, in the process of accelerating the realization of socialist industrialization and modernization, greater changes in the social industrial structure and layout of productive forces within a short span of time are often required. If individuals of the main body of the market are allowed to decide and act freely, it is often impossible to meet the demands for such rapid changes in the industrial structure and layout of productive forces. If the market is allowed to regulate freely without the coordination of national planning, achieving rational changes in the industrial structure and layout of productive forces will be an extremely slow and difficult process. This is especially true of the economic development of remote and underdeveloped areas. Furthermore, within the socialist economy there still are differences in income among different production units, not as a result of subjective efforts but as a result of objective conditions (such as natural conditions, marketing conditions, the amount of equipment, and so on). The differences in material interests among different units will be irrationally enlarged if society does not interfere and allows this kind of differential income to be regulated and distributed by the market. This is contrary to the distributive

principle of socialism. There are certain things which are beneficial from the partial point of view but harmful from the perspective of the whole. Likewise, certain things may be harmful from the partial point of view but beneficial from the perspective of the whole. These things cannot be left to the regulation of the market alone. We must stress the planned regulation of society at the same time.

The unity and contradiction of market regulation and planned regulation in reality results in the unity and contradiction of partial interests, individual interests and collective interests in the socialist economy. The principle for handling the three kinds of interests is overall planning with due consideration for all proper arrangements. When the three kinds of interests come into conflict, partial and individual interests have to be subordinated to collective interests. Therefore, in coordinating the three kinds of interests we need the regulation of the market mechanism as well as the guidance of centralized planning. Whenever the two come into conflict, market regulation should be subordinated to planned regulation. Because of this, we should take planned regulation as the mainstay while attaching full importance to the regulating effects of the market in implementing a national economic management system that integrates planned regulation and market regulation.

The relations between planned regulation and market regulation mentioned above reveal that, although commodity and market relations exist in a socialist economy, the essence and characteristics of a socialist economy are those of a planned economy. Some comrades use the existence of commodity and market in the socialist stage as a reason to believe that a socialist economy is essentially a commodity economy. They believe that the socialist economy has not yet entered the stage of a planned economy and deny that the essence and characteristics of a socialist economy are those of a planned economy. This viewpoint confuses the differences between commodity and market under socialist public ownership and under capitalist private ownership. In actual fact, they regard these two kinds of commodities and markets as identical. Theoretically speaking, this does not hold water. In the meantime this viewpoint will lead to the weakening of planned regulation or even to the abolition of a planned economy. Therefore, it is very harmful. On the other hand, there are also some foreign commentators who regard China's projected national economic management system, which integrates planned regulation and market regulation, as a system combining socialism and capitalism. They call it "market socialism" or a "mixed economy" and so forth. This kind of distortion has not transcended the old framework of identifying the socialist market with the capitalist market. It is not even worth refuting. In the future reform of the economic management system, the Chinese people will unswervingly take the road of a socialist planned economy. No force on earth can stop them from doing so.

VIGOROUSLY DEVELOP INDUSTRY OWNED BY THE COLLECTIVE

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[Article by Xie Xinhe [6200 9515 7729]]

[Text] At the present stage of our socialist construction there are two kinds of public ownership: ownership by the whole people and ownership by the collective. As Lenin pointed out: "With the means of production placed under public ownership and the victory won by the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the system of cultured workers in cooperatives is a socialist system." ("On the Cooperative System," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 684) Chairman Mao also attached great importance to the collective economy and raised the coexistence of the state-operated economy and the cooperative economy to the plane of "consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in state power." ("Oppose the Bourgeois Ideology in the Party") Now that our country is advancing toward the magnificent goal of socialist modernization, the position of collective industry in the national economy and how it should be handled are questions that must be seriously settled in theory and practice.

I. An Important Force for Achieving Socialist Modernization

Industrial enterprises owned by the collective were developed mainly during the cooperative movement in 1956. Since 1958, neighborhood industrial enterprises have been developed. Of the cooperative organizations established at the early stage, some have made a transition to state-operated enterprises and some have grown into cooperative factories. Even in the case of handicraft cooperatives, the means of production are communally owned, members work together and income is distributed according to work. The number of staff and workers of collective enterprises in cities and towns has reached 20 million, or one-third of the total number of staff and workers throughout the country. This is quite a strong force. Except for those managed by the original industrial departments, these enterprises are mostly in the category of No 2 light industry, producing manufactured goods for daily use and arts and crafts. If we examine their production techniques, we will see that some enterprises have a high degree of mechanization

and some use manual operations. Many arts and crafts and small commodities for daily use have distinctive natural features and distinct local styles. They are the crystallization of the wisdom of the workers and are valuable legacies of the Chinese nation. While care must be taken to draw on modern science and technology in the process of producing these products, it is necessary to carry forward and develop the traditional skills and inherent styles and characteristics in order to serve the four modernizations. These traditional skills and inherent styles and characteristics should not be done away with. Our country has a large population, a backward economy and a weak technical foundation. Our conditions for achieving modernization being what they are, industrial enterprises owned by the whole people and those owned by the collective will exist simultaneously for a long time to come. Along with this, advanced techniques and backward ones and mechanized production and handicraft production will also exist for a long time. In the course of development, industrial enterprises owned by the collective inevitably will play an important, positive role.

A great variety of products are turned out by collective industrial enterprises in our country, including metalwares, home electrical appliances, plastic goods, leather and fur goods, clothing, shoes, hats, stationery and sporting goods, bamboo, rattan, straw wares, sundry goods for daily use, and so forth. Take, for example, the No 2 light industry, which accounts for more than 70 percent of the total number of collective enterprises. It accounts for 10 percent of the total value of industrial production and more than half the total value of production achieved by the light industry department. It provides the market with commodities accounting for approximately 17 percent of the total volume of retail sales of articles for daily use and more than half the varieties of products on sale in department stores. These products are needed by everyone and are used by every household. They play an important part in enriching the life of the people, promoting prosperity, aiding industrial and agricultural production and expanding exports. At present there are instances in which the supply of some products has fallen short of demand for a long time. Some products are not suited to the needs of the market, are of poor quality and are high priced. The people are not satisfied with this state of affairs. We must go a step further to do a good job and produce more and better manufactured goods for daily use in order to satisfy the needs of the people's livelihood and industrial and agricultural development.

Industrial enterprises owned by the collectives provide an important source of funds to be accumulated for achieving the four modernizations. These enterprises are small, and their products are mostly small commodities for daily use. The profit on a single product is not high. But there are many enterprises producing numerous products. The total profits on thousands of varieties of products is a fairly considerable figure. In 1978 the enterprises managed by the departments of the No 2 light industry in various localities provided the state with revenue

and profits accounting for 5 percent of the state revenue. Enterprises producing manufactured goods for daily use are characterized by small investments and quick returns. Generally speaking, the need for capital is relatively small in the case of collective enterprises. Hence they do not necessarily require large investments from the state. If the state supports them with funds, equipment and materials, they can develop rapidly. In the handicraft system in Shanghai, the average fixed assets per worker amount to only 3,200 yuan, the lowest in the municipality, but the tax revenue and profit realized by every 100 yuan of fixed assets reaches 172 yuan, which is much higher than the average level for the whole municipality. Marx pointed out: "Some production departments take away not only manpower but the means of production constantly or on many occasions a year, but they also provide the means of subsistence and the means of production." ("Capital," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 24, pp 396-397) Industries producing articles for everyday use are this type of department. They do not take much from society but make great contributions to society. By aiding the development of this department we can accumulate more funds for the four modernizations, thus making light industry aid the growth of heavy industry.

Manufactured goods for daily use and arts and crafts produced by collective enterprises occupy an important position in foreign trade. They are diversified and have a high rate of foreign exchange earnings and a traditional selling market abroad. Some products occupy a unique position in the international market. The amount of foreign exchange earned by our manufactured goods for daily use and arts and crafts last year accounted for 18 percent of the total volume of national exports and more than 70 percent of the total volume of exports by the light industry system. Traditional arts and crafts are of fine quality and are highly artistic and colorful. They enjoy a high reputation in the international market. Their export volume accounts for about 70 percent of the total value of arts and crafts production. The proportion would be even greater if goods sold to tourists in the domestic market were taken into account. Apart from this, many collective enterprises may fully utilize the manpower resources of our country by sending materials and parts to craftsmen for processing and assembling. This will bring the existing potential of enterprises into play, earn more foreign exchange and accelerate the rate of socialist modernization.

Industrial enterprises owned by the collective will enlarge the scope of social employment. Compared with modern industry owned by the whole people, collective industry has many favorable conditions for enlarging social employment: 1) Collective industry does not necessarily require large investments to build large factory buildings and buy new equipment. Provided the state gives its support, the masses may build it up simply and thriftily in the form of the collective economy. 2) The masses are familiar with manufactured goods for daily use. In some cases a high degree of technology is not required, and it is easy to learn and master

the techniques. 3) It has numerous trades and wide related services. Some enterprises manufacture products while others perform repair services. The mode of operation may be diversified; that is, some enterprises may set up fixed centers while others may be mobile, serving customers in their homes. There are several tens of thousands of enterprises with several million staff and workers managed by the departments of No 2 light industry. The majority of these enterprises have developed gradually with the support and strength of the collective economy itself. This year it will be necessary to provide jobs for more than 7 million people, and it will be difficult for modern industry (owned by the whole people) to solve this problem alone. Collective enterprises must be developed vigorously and their strong points brought into play to absorb the unemployed and provide more social employment.

II. The Strong Vitality of Collective Industry

Through socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production and after 20 years of development, our handicraft industry has undergone fundamental changes.

Today the industrial economy owned by the collective is an important part of industry which mainly produces manufactured goods for daily use and arts and crafts. It is based on communal ownership. It operates on a definite scale and has a definite degree of mechanization. We now call this No 2 light industry. Sometimes, from habit, we still call it the handicraft industry. Actually, the name falls short of the reality.

Developing industry owned by the collective is a long-term policy. Our country, with its weak foundation, is economically and technically backward. The development of its productive forces is not high, and its population is large. Because of this situation, we must pay attention to bringing all positive factors into full play and give free rein to the role played by collective industry before we can quicken the pace of the four modernizations. Engels said: "In making the transition to a complete communist economy we must extensively use cooperative production as the central link. This point Marx and I have never doubted." ("To August Bebel," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 36, p 416)

Marxism holds that whether a form of ownership is advanced or backward will depend mainly on whether it promotes or hinders the development of productive forces. Under socialist conditions, whether the form of collective ownership is superior or not may not be judged simply by the degree of its public ownership; more importantly, it should be judged by whether it can more effectively bring the enthusiasm of workers into play and promote the development of productive forces. While a number of problems remain to be solved, our existing industry owned by the collective is basically in line with the development of productive forces and has strong vitality. This point has been borne out by the fact that industrial enterprises owned by the collective have developed rapidly in our country over the years.

Why do collective industrial enterprises develop at a greater rate? On the whole, the main reasons are: First, they can do things better according to economic laws. They combine the interests of the state, the collective and the individual and base economic development on their concern for personal interests, as Lenin said. A percentage of the profits made by the enterprises is delivered as tax revenue to the state, and the balance is controlled and used by the enterprises and the departments concerned. Enterprise operations have a great bearing on the workers' wages and welfare benefits. Their "pots are small" and are not "iron rice bowls." They cannot rely on the state and "eat from the same pot." Under these circumstances, each worker is interested in the results of production and the results of an enterprise's operation. This enhances the sense of responsibility and enthusiasm of the workers, enterprises and department concerned for the successful operation of the enterprise. Second, they enjoy a greater right to independent action in their operations. Fifty-five percent of their profits are delivered as income tax, and the balance in general may be used by the enterprises and the department concerned according to production needs. Enterprises proceed with production according to state and local plans. Apart from this, the production of part of the products may be arranged by the enterprises concerned according to market needs. As for the marketing of products, except for products over which the commercial department has exclusive selling and procurement rights, products and new trial-manufactured products may be sold by the enterprises and departments concerned at their discretion. As regards manpower, state restrictions are not so strict on collective enterprises. The enterprises concerned may recruit their staff and workers according to production needs and under the unified plans of the state. Third, because the enterprises are small and flexible, they are very adaptable. Industrial enterprises owned by the collective have numerous points and cover wide areas. They are mobile and flexible. Because of this, they can obtain local materials, extensively utilize social resources and develop production according to the needs of the masses in different areas and in a manner suited to local circumstances. Their mode of operation is flexible and suited to the scattered, complex and ever-changing needs of society. Fourth, they have the fine tradition of running cooperatives through thrift and hard work. Many enterprises owned by the collective carry out independent business accounting and assume responsibility for their profits and losses. Hence, they are particular about careful calculation and strict budgeting, are hardworking and thrifty and are mindful of economic results. They are able to develop from small to large and from poor to rich and make greater contributions to the state primarily because they uphold the "family tradition" of thrift and hard work and can do more things with less money.

The disruptive activities of the ultraleftist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" threw people's minds into confusion, because collective industry was described as the "tail of capitalism." Some comrades look down upon the collective economy, holding that enterprises

owned by the collective are inferior to those owned by the whole people and have no future. They even go so far as to discriminate against collective enterprises politically and restrict them economically. The result is that some comrades believe that one who works for a collective enterprise is "traveling on the correct road but entering the wrong door" and that his job is "dishonorable" and "degrading." These views are wrong. Ownership by the collective is one form of socialist public ownership in our country. This is written into the constitution. People who work for an enterprise owned by the collective are the same as those who work for an enterprise owned by the whole people. They all serve socialist construction. They are extremely honorable. The broad masses of workers of enterprises owned by the collective are an important front of our working class and an important force for achieving the four modernizations. Their work has broad prospects, and there is ample scope for their talents. We must make a clean sweep of the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," increase our knowledge of the importance of the collective economy, implement the party's policies and vigorously aid the development of the collective economy.

III. Handle the Collective Economy Properly According to Its Characteristics

The economic base determines the superstructure. The superstructure serves the economic base. The economic activities of industrial enterprises owned by the collective have their characteristics and laws. This situation means that we must work out a set of general and specific policies and methods that can give impetus to the constant consolidation and development of the collective economy. Practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. Over the past 20 years and more we have accumulated a wealth of experience and devised many good methods in this respect, such as arduous struggle, self-reliance, democratic management, operating cooperatives through hard work and thrift, paying attention to market changes, flexible operation and making things convenient for the people. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" carried out disruptive activities, and some comrades put undue emphasis on "learning from" and "emulating" the enterprises owned by the whole people. As a result, instead of learning some valuable lessons, we have discarded some of our fine traditions. We should now conscientiously implement the party's general and specific policies concerning the collective economy and restore the good methods we have discarded. At the same time, we should go a step further to set our minds free, break through irrational confines, study new conditions and new problems arising from the development of and changes in the collective economy, and, on the basis of the central authorities' policy of readjusting the national economy and restructuring the economic system, draw up policies and methods suited to current needs. We should enlarge the right of self-determination of collective enterprises and handle the collective economy properly according to its characteristics.

We should properly arrange supply, production and marketing and strengthen comprehensive balancing according to the objective requirements of the planned, proportionate development of the national economy. Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "The handicraft industry accounts for one-fourth the total value of industrial production. Why are its supply, production and marketing not incorporated into state plans? The handicraft industry is large and should be incorporated into state plans." ("Speed Up Socialist Transformation of Handicraft Industry") To insure the requirements of production development, it is not only necessary but also possible to incorporate the supply, production and marketing of collective enterprises into state plans. General and specific policies must be unified; supply, production and marketing must be arranged on the principle of the division of labor and management, irrespective of ownership. Many provinces and municipalities have accumulated experiences in this respect. We should take into account the characteristics of the collective economy and make a distinction between different circumstances. Some enterprises may be incorporated into state plans according to their products. Others may be assessed and incorporated into state plans according to major categories of products. It is wrong to put undue emphasis on certain objective causes and overlook comprehensive balance and overall arrangements for collective industry. Enterprises should organize production according to state plans and social needs, strive to improve product quality, add more colors and designs and develop new products to meet market needs at home and abroad.

The supply of raw and processed materials is now divorced from production. Production is arranged by the department concerned, but materials are supplied on a piecemeal basis. Frequently, when materials reach the local level, they are diverted to other purposes. Many localities have reported: "Materials are supplied on a piecemeal basis from the higher level and are used to insure keypoint production at the lower level, leaving little for the production of small commodities." Materials are supplied on a piecemeal basis to industrial enterprises; materials are sent from commercial and foreign trade departments to industrial enterprises for processing. This method is not suited to the needs of developing production. It has many drawbacks, and we must study ways to improve it. The system under which raw and processed materials are controlled by the commercial department and processed by industrial enterprises is a followup of the system of utilizing, restricting and transforming capitalist industry and commerce. This system is detrimental to the development of production. A leading comrade of the State Council pointed out in 1956: "We should change the method of having commercial departments supply factories with raw materials for processing to one of having factories purchase their raw materials and market their commodities." The method of supplying materials to collective industrial enterprises should be reformed according to this principle as quickly as possible.

It is necessary to strengthen planning over the production of manufactured goods for daily use and show flexibility. Most manufactured goods for daily use are consumer goods. Many arts and crafts are both works of art and articles for practical use. There are many varieties, and the needs for them at home and abroad are constantly changing and differ in thousands of ways. Under such complicated circumstances, it is difficult to rely on planned guidance. For this reason, supply, production and marketing for collective industrial enterprises should be arranged through a combination of plan readjustment and market readjustment. Importance should be attached to the role of market readjustment, and enterprises should be given more rights of self-determination. Regarding production arrangements, with the exception of products included in the plans which should be produced according to plan, the enterprises concerned should be permitted to arrange production of other products according to market conditions and decide what to produce and how much to produce. Regarding the marketing of products, with the exception of products over which the commercial department has exclusive selling and procurement rights, enterprises should be permitted to sell their products themselves, so that they can be in direct contact with consumers and improve their production. As regards the supply of materials, with the exception of first-category and second-category materials which are to be distributed by the state, production departments or enterprises should be allowed to purchase third-category materials. In fixing the prices of products, we must know how to use the law of value to promote the development of production. With the exception of some products of importance to the national economy and the people's livelihood for which the state must fix the price, production departments may be permitted to fix prices of some products according to changes in market supply and demand and the requirements of state pricing policy and on the principle of fixing prices according to quality.

The just rights and interests of industrial enterprises owned by the collective must be respected and protected. Our constitution stipulates: "Socialist public property may not be encroached upon. The state insures the consolidation and development of the socialist economy owned by the whole people and the economy collectively owned by the socialist working masses." Despite repeated injunctions by the State Council forbidding the indiscriminate transfer of the resources of the collective economy, some localities have still concocted various pretexts and used various means in recent years to transfer, apportion and misappropriate the resources of the collective economy. In some localities, along with paying taxes, collective enterprises were required to pay urban construction fees, air-raid shelter fees and local education funds. In other localities, collective enterprises were required to pay for the building of phosphate fertilizer plants, hydroelectric stations and power plants, for producing farm medications and even for holding chrysanthemum shows. These activities do not conform to party policies. Resources that have been indiscriminately transferred should be returned. A part of the income made by industrial enterprises owned by the

collective has been contributed in the form of taxes to the state, and the remainder should be used to develop production and establish collective welfare projects for the workers and improve their livelihood. If the economic rights and interests of collective enterprises are willfully encroached upon, and if their resources are indiscriminately transferred, the enthusiasm of the workers for production inevitably will be dampened, and consolidation and development of the collective economy and improvement of the workers' livelihood will be hindered.

Currently some departments and areas favor state enterprises over collective enterprises. When distributing materials they do not give the collective enterprises the materials they need. In their eyes, cadres of collective enterprises and even those veteran party members and cadres who have been a part of the revolution for many years are not state cadres. These cadres and party members do not enjoy the treatment given to state cadres when attending meetings, reading documents and receiving welfare benefits. Workers of collective enterprises are not regarded as part of the working class and, in some cases, are not allowed to join trade unions. This is detrimental to arousing the enthusiasm of the workers and promoting the development of production of manufactured goods for daily use and arts and crafts. Both the enterprises owned by the collective and those owned by the whole people are parts of the national economy. The staff and workers of these enterprises are doing different jobs without differentiation between the high and the low. They must be treated impartially and on an equal basis. They must not be discriminated against.

Running cooperatives in a democratic way and through hard work and thrift is the fundamental policy of collective industrial enterprises and is also their fine tradition. Practice over the past 20 years and more has proven that only by conscientiously carrying out the policy of running cooperatives in a democratic way and through hard work and thrift is it possible to bring the socialist enthusiasm of the workers into full play, to manifest their hardworking spirit and to convince them that they should care for the collective and act as masters. In the past the handicraft cooperatives upheld the mass line, operated in a democratic way, elected cadres democratically, aroused the masses to draw up rules and regulations, periodically made their accounts public, carried out business accounting, assumed responsibility for their profits and losses and paid attention to economic results. These activities are still significant and should be carried forward and developed. We should support collective enterprises in carrying out business accounting, assuming responsibility for their profits and losses and carrying out the principle of more pay for more work. We must resolutely rectify the wrong practice of promoting egalitarianism and eating from the "same pot," a practice that encourages one to disregard the results of operations, to overlook profits or losses and to care nothing about the result of one's work. In the past there was a stipulation that the wages and welfare benefits for the staff and

workers of collective enterprises could only be lower and must not be higher than those for the workers of enterprises owned by the whole people. This provision is very unreasonable and is detrimental to developing production. From now on there should be a stipulation that the wages and welfare benefits for the staff and workers of those collective enterprises that have carried out production successfully and have made more profits and greater contributions may be higher than those for the staff and workers of enterprises owned by the whole people. The state should give appropriate support to newly established collective enterprises and producers cooperatives by reducing or waiving taxes for a certain period to enable these enterprises to be consolidated and developed.

The political and economic situation in our country is very favorable. The party Central Committee and the State Council headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng have shown concern for the light and handicraft industries and have attached great importance to industrial enterprises owned by the collective. In the process of carrying out the party Central Committee's policy of readjusting, restructuring, rectifying and improving, many areas are now taking effective measures to strengthen leadership over industrial enterprises owned by the collective, arranging production, supplies and marketing according to the trades, opening up the channels of supply and marketing and restoring the traditional modes of operation.

All this will certainly bring about great developments in the light and handicraft industries and a new upsurge in the national economy as a whole.

We must seriously carry out the party's policies concerning industrial enterprises owned by the collective, sum up historical experiences, strengthen investigation and research, fully solve the current problems and let the collective industrial enterprises play a greater role in achieving the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004

A BRIEF DISCUSSION ON ORGANIZING INDUSTRIAL COMPANIES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 2 Sep 79 pp 32-37

[Article by Gong Jin [7895 6641]]

[Text] An important measure in the current reform of the economic management system in our country is the establishment of enterprise industrial companies (general plants). At present the enterprise industrial companies are still in the trial stage, with different ways of understanding and different methods of work in both theory and practice. This article intends to put forward for further investigation certain rough views on the objective inevitability of setting up enterprise industrial companies, the experiences in organizing them and the existing problems.

I. Organizing Industrial Companies Is the Objective Requirement of Great Socialist Production

Modern industrial production is great socialist production built on the foundation of a high level of science and technology. Following the development of the socialist economy and technical progress, more large-size and automatic technical equipment appears in plants with each passing day. This requires the concentration of more capital and technical forces. The development of the division of labor in society causes production to be more specialized and requires a correctly and tightly organized cooperation in production among the factories. The newly established modern industrial departments are often the collective achievements of certain trades and different fields of science and technology. The trial manufacture of products often has the nature of scientific research. It is necessary to strengthen the work of scientific research in production activities. To adapt to these changes, it is necessary to organize the originally decentralized and independently managed factories in a suitable way according to the internal ties in production and rational economic principles, so that the labor force and means of labor owned by these factories can attain even greater economic results. Industrial companies are precisely the product of the high degree of centralization in modern industrial production.

In the 1860's capitalist free competition had reached its highest peak. Big enterprises continuously annexed medium-size and small enterprises, thus causing centralized production and capital accumulation. Monopoly organizations of various forms emerged, such as cartels, trusts, syndicates and concerns. Among them, the trust was the leading form of monopoly. It was an industrial company formed by the amalgamation of certain factories. It exercised centralized management and administration and unified the examination and calculation of profits and losses and the distribution of profits in production, supply and marketing in its subordinate companies. The factories which joined the trusts completely lost their independence in production and in commerce. The trust had substantial economic strength and a great technological force. In capitalist competition it could very easily subdue those factories under decentralized management. Thus, groups of medium-size and small enterprises were closed down or annexed, while other groups of medium-size and small enterprises became attached to it more and more and were under its control.

Monopoly organizations carve up the world economically. This is the characteristic of imperialism. Right from the beginning, trusts were linked with internationalized production activities. After World War II, and after the 1950's in particular, monopoly capital had reached an unprecedented scale in foreign expansion. To contend for international markets and foreign resources and attain high quotas and profits, the monopolies directly carried out economic penetration in foreign countries through capital exportation and formed many international production sales networks. The main economic activities in the entire capitalist world were all controlled by companies extending across countries (or multinational companies) under international monopoly organizations. According to an estimate, the value of the output of the multinational companies of the principal capitalist countries in 1972 reached \$450 billion, which was more than one-seventh the gross output value of the capitalist world that year.

Although the trusts very easily defeated certain domestic and foreign factories of the same trade under decentralized management, there was keen competition between monopoly enterprises. This competition forced the various trusts to improve the activities of production and management in a thousand and one ways, to adopt a rational form of production and organization and a highly flexible management and administration system, and to attain achievements in advanced science and technology so as to defeat other people and preserve and develop themselves.

The aim of the capitalists in running trusts was to pursue maximum profits. Profits were realized through the sale of products. Thus, they attached great importance to forecasting work in market economy and set up comprehensive forecasting organizations and forecasting information networks. The American General Motors Company has more than 10,000 dealers. The company requires the consignees to report to

the motor production department every 10 days on the sales of automobiles. At the same time, it requires the commercial information agencies to supply it with such analytical material as the number of new cars registered in the various states, the proportion of the sale of automobiles manufactured by the General Motors Company in the market, and the reasons for changes in sale conditions so as to improve the products, raise their quality and set production tasks.

Owing to the development of modern production technology, the structure of industrial products is becoming more and more complicated. A small automobile has more than 20,000 component parts, and a missile system has a million or even several million parts. It is obviously impossible and not economical for a single company to manufacture them from beginning to end. To meet the requirements of large output, high quality, great variety and low production costs, trusts extensively develop various ties of production cooperation with other enterprises. Such enterprises are mostly medium-size and small enterprises with a high degree of specialization. In developing production cooperation, the trusts attach great importance to economic results. Even though they are plants within the company, if the price of the component parts they supply is higher than the market price, or if the quality is inferior to that supplied by outside units, the consuming units have the right to reject them and can directly purchase the spare parts on the market. To insure that production is normally and continuously carried out, the various ties of production cooperation of the trusts are built on the foundation of a strict contract system. Any party that violates the economic contract has to shoulder economic responsibility and pay indemnity for the economic loss. Some 70 percent of the component parts of small automobiles manufactured by the Toyota Motor Company in Japan are supplied by the company's coordinated plants outside. The company has even adopted the "card system" used in internal organization and production in supplying coordinated parts and has required the coordinated plants to deliver the components to the plant at a fixed time. In this way, under the condition of minimum stocks and reserves, an uninterrupted and balanced production is guaranteed in the plant.

There have been many changes in a short time on the capitalist market. To adapt to these changes, flexibility is very important in management and administration. General Motors exercises an administration system with "centralized policies, decentralized management" and stipulates that the managers of the various administrative departments have the power to make the final decision on more than 90 percent of the matters as a rule, except in emergency cases when the general director of the company issues orders to the managers of the various administrative departments to take certain actions. Under the conditions of not violating the general and specific policies of the company and unified system, the managers of the administrative departments have overall authority and shoulder all the responsibilities for the various kinds of work under their jurisdiction. The trusts also attach great

importance to planned management. Marx said that under the capitalist system there were no plans in the entire social production, but within each enterprise there were plans. The plans of the trusts are normally divided into two types. One includes long-term plans of 3, 5 and 10 years. These plans include such aspects as the trend of production, speed of development, projects for scientific research and technological development and the training of technical experts. Long-term plans generally adopt the form of continuous planning and are incessantly modified and supplemented every year according to market surveys and new achievements in science and technology. Another type includes short-term plans drawn up every year, season and month; these are formulated on the basis of market forecasts. General Motors has stipulated that once the production plans are formulated they must be followed and carried out by the various departments. In special cases in which plans need to be changed, it is necessary to go through the procedures of investigation and ratification all over again. If the general director does not voice any disagreement within a week after the various administration departments have submitted the monthly plans, it is assumed that these plans have been approved. This system of investigating and ratifying plans in time helps considerably in raising work efficiency.

Following the rapid development in industrial technology, the period for upgrading and replacing industrial products has been shortened. At present all the trusts of a relatively large scale have set up specialized research centers with a large scientific and technological staff. According to one estimate, more than half the workers engaged in scientific research in the United States work in enterprises. Since the United States attaches great importance to scientific research and putting its achievements to work, advanced production technology and new products develop very rapidly. At the same time, to stimulate industrial investment and avoid economic losses caused by the invisible depreciation of fixed assets, the trusts adopt the method of rapid depreciation and artificially shorten the time limit for the use of the equipment, so that the technical installation in the plant is continuously renovated. New machine tools accounted for approximately one-third the total in the machine building industry in the United States in 1973. In 1977 there were more than 22,000 computers being used directly in the process of controlling production. The extensive use of new equipment and new technology has greatly raised the productivity of labor.

The trust is a typical monopoly organization of capitalism. It is built on the foundation of the ruthless exploitation of the workers and other working people, as well as the people of backward countries. On the other hand, it is a form of scientific production organization. We cannot mix up the economic characteristics of the system of private ownership in the capitalist trust with its method of rationally organizing social labor, which conforms to the needs of great socialist production. Lenin affirmed that it was necessary to learn from the experiences of the capitalist trusts, saying, "Only those are worthy of

the name of communists who understand that it is impossible to create or introduce socialism without learning from the organizers of the trusts," and he advocated that the proletarian political party "learn the skill in organizing trusts and large production from the first-class experts in capitalism." ("On Leftwing Infantile Disorder and the Petty Bourgeois Mentality," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 555) Comrade Mao Zedong also taught us that it was necessary to "learn the advanced scientific technology of capitalist countries and the scientific aspects in the methods of enterprise management." ("On the Ten Major Relationships") When Lenin was still alive, the Soviet Union operated trusts. In the 1960's our country also experimentally operated industrial companies similar to trusts. Socialist countries build enterprise industrial companies on the economic foundation of the system of public ownership and consciously carry this out under the guidance of unified state plans. Exploitation will not be engendered, and the nature of the system of ownership will not change. Therefore, under socialist conditions it is possible to draw lessons from the experiences of capitalists in organizing and managing large production and adopt certain management and administration methods of the trusts.

II. The Formation and Development of Socialist Industrial Companies in Our Country

After state and private enterprises in all trades had been united in our country, industrial companies were organized according to the different trades and the principle of categorizing products and dovetailing coordination and cooperation in certain cities where industries were more concentrated, so as to strengthen leadership over state-private factories and smoothly carry out socialist reforms and economic reorganization. For example, the Shanghai electrical and mechanical system organized the more than 4,600 small plants which manufactured electrical and mechanical products and component parts and had technological coordination and cooperation at that time into several industrial companies manufacturing machine tools, machines and screws. The industrial companies at that time were leading administrative organizations and did not have the characteristics of industrial trusts.

After the first and second five-year plans, our country's industrial production underwent tremendous development and saw the emergence of a group of newly established industrial departments which could not be found in the past. In 1961 we began to implement the general policy of "readjustment, consolidating, filling out and raising standards." New developments in industry and in the national economy again appeared. To continue to develop this excellent situation and catch up with and surpass the advanced levels in the world, it was necessary to further raise the technological level of industry while simultaneously rapidly transforming the backward appearance in management and administration and overcoming the shortcomings caused by mere reliance on administrative methods to manage industries. These shortcomings included too many

leading groups, policies issued by many departments, overlapping organizations, low efficiency, a dispersed technical force, insufficient popularization of new technological research, lack of a rational division of labor and close coordination between enterprises of the same trade, and an irrational layout. At that time the party Central Committee decided to gradually reform our country's original industrial management system and to study the use of economic methods to manage the economy. Beginning in 1964, some industrial departments first attempted to run trusts, with 12 enterprise industrial companies being run throughout the country, such as the China Tobacco Industrial Company, the China Medical Industrial Company, the China Latex Industrial Company and the China Aluminum Manufacturing Industrial Company. Some regions also ran local enterprise companies, such as the Northwestern Electrical Engineering Company and the Shanghai Standard Components Industrial Company.

The establishment of enterprise industrial companies symbolized a new stage in our country's industrial management. Although the time for making experiments in the past was very short and the superiority of such companies had yet to be brought into full play, some beneficial experiences were gained.

First, implementation of the management and administrative system of independent business accounting in companies can prompt the companies to show concern for economic results in the course of organizing production management activities. After the establishment of the China Tobacco Industrial Company, general companies were set up throughout the country to lead the local branch companies. A series of measures to improve management and administration were adopted: from giving tobacco planters technological guidance to unifying tobacco formulas, from the unified purchase of tobacco to the rational distribution of tobacco according to the technological conditions of the various plants, and from developing scientific research to helping various plants improve the quality of the products and carry out technological reforms. Moreover, goods and materials were procured for the various plants. All these measures have changed certain past phenomena in decentralized management, such as the contention for investment and raw materials and the lack of coordination in the supply, production and marketing plans. They have prevented the procurement staff from rushing about, saved manpower and expenses, and reduced the number of staff and workers by more than 13,000 in the brief period of just over a year. Output has been increased by 29 percent, productivity of labor raised by 35 percent, the cost of production lowered by 21 percent and accumulation increased by 60 percent. In addition there has been obvious improvement in the supply of cigarettes on the market.

Second, the companies exercise unified leadership and have greater autonomy. This helps overcome oligarchy, reduce the layers of administration and management and raise work efficiency. At that time the aluminum and gold companies that were being run as an experiment by the

metallurgical system were all located near the basic-level production units. When there was need to contact the subordinate plants on certain matters, the problem could be solved by a telephone call. There was centralized guidance and flexible management, which conformed more to the needs of modernized industrial production.

Third, in accordance with the principle of contributing to production and facilitating management, the enterprise companies must reorganize the large and small comprehensive plants that are characterized by decentralized management, miscellaneous products and backward technology into specialized plants that exercise centralized management and unify planning. All this can greatly promote the development of productive forces. The Nanjing branch company of the China Motor Industrial Company was set up step by step with the Nanjing motor plant as the foundation, after the amalgamation of more than 10 units such as the Hangzhou generator plant and the Changzhou passenger train plant. After the branch company had been set up, it was divided into certain specialized plants, such as the motor equipment repair plant, motor tool plant and motor casting plant, through all-round adjustment and reorganization in accordance with the principle of specialized coordination. More than 800 kinds of component parts (which account for 60 percent of the production cost of the car) were manufactured in a planned way by specialized plants directly under the company and by some local plants. Plants that manufactured the various products were provided with technological assistance and the necessary equipment. Thus, weak sectors in car production were developed, regional coordination networks were rapidly set up and a new productive capacity was quickly formed. Just 2 years after the founding of the Nanjing motor branch company, the annual output of cars was increased 1.9 times, with a marked reduction in production costs of the cars.

Fourth, the company must implement the management system of integrated supply, production and marketing. This helps to rationally organize the circulation of commodities and reduce the middle sectors, lower expenses and save transportation and packaging materials for the state. Take the China Salt Industrial Company, for example. Before the pilot project, most of the wholesale stations in the marketing areas were set up according to administrative districts. There were many middle sectors, the transportation distance was long, many sacks had to be used for transporting the salt and the turnover was slow. In many districts the management of salt and other commodities was mixed up. The standard of management was not high and the profits decreased. After salt trusts had been run on an experimental basis, some of the wholesale stations were readjusted according to the economic districts, and supplies were organized across counties, specialized districts and provinces. Transportation routes were charted rationally, direct transactions were carried out and the salt was transported directly from the place of production to the sales stations. Thus, the volume of goods transported was reduced by 9,600 million ton-kilometers, and more than 3 million

sacks used to transport salt were saved in 1 year. According to the statistics of nine provinces, municipalities and districts, the profit on each ton of salt in 1964 showed a two-fold increase over that in 1963.

In the past, there also were shortcomings in experimental work. After the establishment of national enterprise companies, concentration was excessive and too rigid, and not enough consideration was given to the profits in the localities. Some enterprise companies were engaged in business with competition; this was not favorable for developing socialist competition among enterprises. The economic profits of the companies were not closely linked with the material gains of the plant and the staff and workers. After the system of the enterprise company was reformed, there still was no perfect solution to the problems of how to correspondingly reform the departments of planning, materials, sales, finance, commerce and labor. It was not difficult to solve these problems in the course of continuing the experiments. However, not long after this experimental work was carried out, the sabotage of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" forced the enterprise companies to stop their operations. Factories affiliated with the company again resumed their previous form of management. Certain enterprise industrial companies also regressed to administrative industrial companies.

III. Several Questions on Organizing Enterprise Industrial Companies

At present the various departments and districts throughout the country are once again organizing enterprise industrial companies. Judging from past and present experiences in launching pilot projects, we think that we must study and resolve the following several issues to perform this task well.

/Rationally select the form of organization of the company./ How do we bring into full play the strong points of the advanced form of production organization embodied in industrial companies? There is the question of a specific rational form. In selecting the form of industrial companies it is necessary to start from reality and pay attention to such factors as a rational layout, economic advantages, expedient management and whether this form is favorable for mobilizing the initiative of the plant and the locality. We must not rush headlong into mass action and go after the form, but must study the actual results to help develop production. There are many specific forms of industrial companies. From the point of view of production technology, they can generally be divided into joint companies, specialized companies and comprehensive companies. Factories which have a very strong continuity in production or need to comprehensively use raw materials can appropriately adopt the form of joint companies. Factories which have similar production technology and manufacture similar products can organize specialized companies. When certain trades with relatively

similar products, technology and equipment are merged into a single industrial company, it is called a comprehensive company. Sometimes there are few similar factories in the same district. In that case it is possible to adopt the form of a general plant and let a large plant lead certain small plants so as to reduce the management sectors and simplify the organization management. Administrative jurisdiction and regional distribution can generally be divided into national industrial companies, regional industrial companies and local industrial companies. In some large and medium-size cities with relatively developed industries there are more factories with a strong industrial foundation. It is appropriate to organize local industrial companies to tighten the relationship of coordination and cooperation between the factories and strengthen the unified management of the industries under the locality and to mobilize the initiative of the locality. Cities with a relatively weak industrial foundation and few similar factories cannot rely on local industries to develop new technology, trial-manufacture new products or manufacture products which require a higher degree of technology. Such cities can organize regional industrial companies with nearby cities. Another kind of regional industrial company may be established to use the various strong points of several cities, such as resources, manpower and technology. In setting up regional industrial companies we must pay attention to a rational layout. There should not be too much decentralization. At the same time, it is necessary to correctly handle the contradictions of administrative relations in the various plants and overcome local departmentalism. In the case of industrial departments whose products are under state monopoly, whose resources are more restricted and whose profit level is very high, it is appropriate to set up national industrial companies. This has positive significance in the rational utilization of resources and in overcoming blind expansion of local industries. The same national and local industrial companies should not be run as a single company with excessive concentration and monopoly. This cannot bring about competition among enterprises and will not help develop industrial production.

/Implement independent business accounting./ Whether or not to implement business accounting independently is the main distinction between administrative and enterprise companies. An industrial company keeps its business accounts independently. It is a basic-level unit under state planning instead of being an agency of a higher-level competent department. It is an economic entity responsible for its own profits or losses instead of being simply an administrative organ for the management of factories. This change is an important reform in the superstructure and in the relations of production, bringing about basic changes in the relation between the company and the factory.

Lenin pointed out: "The various trusts and enterprises are built upon the basis of the system of business accounting precisely because they themselves have to shoulder the responsibility, and all the responsibility, so that their enterprises will not suffer losses." ("To the

People's Committee on Finance," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 35, p 549) In keeping independent business accounts, the companies are required to comprehensively consider the economic results and shoulder economic and legal responsibilities while organizing production and operations. In this way the companies will actively and carefully make their calculations and budget strictly, cautiously and conscientiously manage and use their fixed assets and working capital provided by the state, save manpower, material and financial resources, tap potentials and broaden the sources of income in a thousand and one ways, increase profits and provide more accumulated funds for socialist construction. The Shanghai Latex Industrial Company has made a statistical analysis. In 1966, when tests were conducted at selected points, the company could provide an accumulation (including profits and tax) of 633 yuan for every 100 yuan of working capital. After the pilot project was abolished and it was changed into an administrative company, the rate of accumulation was reduced yearly. Although there have been improvements in the situation in recent years, the accumulation was only 451 yuan in 1978, which still showed a great difference when compared with the pilot project. If calculated according to the level of accumulation provided in 1966, the accumulation for the state was reduced by more than 200 million yuan in 1978 alone. This is considerable capital. This situation also generally exists in other experimental companies. It can be seen that the current problem is not whether or not to set up industrial companies that keep independent business accounts, but to require the various economic departments such as industry, finance, banking, materials and labor to actively create conditions for setting up enterprise companies and jointly grasp well the work of conducting tests at selected points.

Each industrial company leads more than 10 or scores of factories. These factories formerly were economic units which independently carried out production and operation activities and had a relatively good business accounting system and method. After the industrial companies began carrying out independent business accounting, a new question emerged in organizing enterprise companies. This was whether or not the subordinate plants should correspondingly keep independent business accounts. Generally speaking, a small number of companies which manufacture a single product and have fewer difficulties in unified accounting can adopt the method of independent business accounting at a single level in the company. Most other companies can adopt the method of business accounting at the two levels of the company and the subordinate factory, since they have a great variety of products, complicated specifications and an enormous volume of business accounting work but lack experience in centralized economic management and advanced calculations. Business accounting at two levels in the factory is different from business accounting in the workshop, both in the areas of economic responsibility and economic jurisdiction. The main difference is that the factory subordinate to the company also has the rights of a corporate entity. It can open an account with the bank and

independently calculate its profits and losses. It can carry out business transactions with other plants outside the company and enter into economic contracts. It can also purchase and sell those materials and products which are not under the unified management of the company. Implementation of business accounting at two levels helps to mobilize the initiative of the company and the factory in management and administration and helps to carry out accounting work even more thoroughly and meticulously. It also helps the factories to handle various economic problems encountered in production in a timely manner. If the subordinate plant does not carry out business accounting correspondingly and independently, the original plant becomes a workshop, and the company changes into an expanded factory. This will easily encourage the idea of eating from "the same pot" in the factory subordinate to the company and will not help improve economic management or increase production and raise the levels of profits in the whole company.

/Increase the autonomy of the company in management and administration./ Increasing the autonomy of the industrial company in management and administration is the objective requirement in developing the socialist economy. Proletarian countries exercise planned leadership over the national economy and are in charge of thousands and tens of thousands of enterprises and need to strengthen centralized and unified leadership. However, the centralized and unified leadership of the state does not require that all the economic activities of the localities, departments and enterprises be rigidly controlled. On the contrary, with the prerequisite of centralized and unified management, the state should implement the principles of "centralizing power on major issues, decentralizing power on minor issues," "unifying plans and management at different levels" and giving the localities, departments and enterprises certain autonomy. This means that some independence is allowed. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "From the viewpoint of principles, unity and independence are the unity of opposites. There must be unity as well as independence." "The various production units must have independence linked with unity before they can be developed in a more lively way." ("On the Ten Major Relationships") The state must respect the relative independence of the companies and appropriately increase the limits of authority of the company. This is necessary for developing the socialist economic democracy and providing the companies with flexibility in handling their daily management activities while strengthening centralization and unity. Otherwise the active, creative spirit of the enterprise will be suppressed, and its initiative cannot be brought into play.

After the autonomy of the company in management and administration has been expanded the higher administrative levels must strengthen their supervision and inspection of the companies in implementing the party's general and specific policies and in fulfilling the state plans in order to guarantee that the production and management activities of the companies do not depart from the socialist orbit. Expansion of the autonomy

of the company in management and administration inevitably involves centralized leadership and unified management over the six areas of manpower, finance, materials, supply, production and marketing within the company. The company is allowed to unify its planning, equipment and staff movement, technology, accounting, supply and marketing, so that the plants subordinate to the companies can carry out production activities and concentrate their efforts on grasping well the popularization of new technology and transforming old equipment. To guarantee that the companies do not increase the burden of factories after the centralization of authority in the management system, the company is required to face the basic-level unit, face production, face the masses, do a good job in service work and gradually take charge of such social services as the canteens, bathrooms and nurseries originally managed by the plants. The company must also gradually centralize the management of such production service work as equipment repair, transportation, warehousing, technical training and the manufacture of special-purpose instruments and models, so that the plants can rid themselves of their worries and really concentrate their efforts on doing a good job in production. To increase the autonomy of the company, it is necessary to simplify the organizational structure, assign competent cadres, correctly use the authority of the company and bring into full play the role of the industrial company in the course of organizing great socialized production in order to fully use the potential of manpower, material and financial resources and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in developing socialist industrial production.

/Strengthen specialized cooperation./ The industrial company is developed on the foundation of specialized coordination and cooperation. After the company has been organized, it is also necessary to pay great attention to raising the level of specialized cooperation in production within the company and, according to the structure of the products and technological characteristics, carry out a rational division of specialized labor and gradually change the form of small production management of being "big and complete" and "small and complete" in the affiliated plants. Generally, the industrial company can gradually merge the technological stages of casting and forging metals in the various subordinate plants and the technological rear of manufacturing instruments, models and equipment repair with such service departments as transportation and set up technological specialized factories and technological rear specialized factories or special service teams. In the past, when the Shanghai Latex Industrial Company made experiments, it processed carbon black latex in 21 comprehensive plants and set up carbon black latex processing centers in several big plants which had better production conditions. The company made them responsible for supplying the needs of the various plants in the company. This not only raised production efficiency, saved working capital, improved technology, unified the formula for carbon black latex and stabilized the quality of latex, but also reduced the "three waste materials" and

unpleasant noise in the factories. In addition, it brought about better economic results and improved environmental hygiene. Certainly the company itself cannot be run as a "comprehensive" company. It is necessary not only to continue to maintain the original rational relations of coordination and cooperation, but also to actively set up new relations of coordination and cooperation with the enterprises concerned outside the company, in accordance with the needs of the development of production.

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A DISCUSSION ON THE REPLACEMENT OF FIXED ASSETS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 2 Sep 79 pp 38-40

[Text] Comrade Sun Yefang's [1327 0396 2455] article entitled "On the Necessity of Reforming the Equipment Management System That 'Reproduces Antiques and Freezes Technical Progress'" published in issue No 6 of this periodical aroused a great deal of interest. Many readers expressed their views on further exploring this important theoretical and practical issue. Their letters and manuscripts are selectively published below.

Comrade Jiang Jiakun [3068 1367 7721] (Materials General Plant, Liuzhou Railway Bureau): Doing finance and accounting work on the basic level for a fairly long period of time, I have come into direct contact with many problems in the current equipment management system, and I find myself in agreement with Comrade Sun Yefang's article entitled "On the Necessity of Reforming the Equipment Management System That 'Reproduces Antiques and Freezes Technical Progress.'"

Comrade Sun Yefang said in his article: "Our current equipment management system is a stumbling block on the path of industrialization." I feel that this is not just alarmist talk. To reform the system, he suggested: Raise the depreciation rate, shorten the term of depreciation and transfer the entire depreciation fund to the enterprise. I feel that this is the proper remedy for the situation.

Fixed assets are the important material condition of enterprise production and the material foundation for developing the national economy. They indicate the productive capacity of the state and its material strength. Yet their management is precisely the weakest link in our economic management. According to the provisions of the system, the depreciation rate of fixed assets of our railway transport units is 1 percent and that of major repairs 3.5 percent. Such low depreciation rates are not commensurate with the needs of economic development. However, in the First Five-Year Plan period the basic-level units were

able to follow such percentages. Therefore, the cadres and staff and workers formed this concept in their minds: The more fixed assets, the greater the depreciation expenses and the higher the cost. Therefore, from top to bottom, everyone cherished the fixed assets. As for the possession of fixed assets, they did not have the idea of the more, the better. During the Great Leap Forward years the independent accounting units at the basic level no longer computed depreciation; it was placed under the unified computation of the railway bureau. Subsequently it was taken away from the railway bureaus and placed under the unified handling of the ministry. Thereupon, all the units vied for equipment--the more, the better--and began laying in stock to avoid shortages. The losses thus created were alarming. If "the depreciation fund is transferred entirely to the enterprise," thus linking equipment utilization with the operational results of the unit, this will avoid the malady discussed above.

The irrationality of our equipment management system is manifested primarily in the excessively long term of depreciation, generally from 25 to 30-plus years. Yet the length of depreciation for our railway transport system is actually 100 years (with the combined depreciation rate at 1 percent). Allegedly this is because the characteristics of railways are the large proportion of funds for the lines and their long useful life. Such a theory is truly ridiculous! Today, when science and technology are advancing by leaps and bounds, how can we imagine that our current technical equipment and its economic value will last a whole century before they are completely dissipated? I have no way to know the condition of China's railway equipment by the year 2079, but each and every one of us can look back at the railway equipment of 1879. If the depreciation were 1 percent, would that equipment still be suitable for use today? Is it not very obvious that considering only the material wear and tear (tangible wear and tear) while ignoring the spiritual wear and tear (intangible wear and tear) is divorced from reality? The comrades who oppose this view consider raising the depreciation rate and shortening the term of depreciation as the style of a bourgeois spendthrift, not knowing that the current fixed assets management system is truly of the style of a bourgeois spendthrift. We only have to look at the following instances to be convinced.

1. Though the depreciation rate of fixed assets of railway transport units is 1 percent, it applies only to fixed assets in use but not to three other categories of fixed assets, i.e., fixed assets not in use, fixed assets not needed and land. Besides land, the remaining two categories constitute approximately 10 percent of the total fixed assets. Therefore, while the depreciation rate is nominally 1 percent, it is actually only 0.9 percent. Meanwhile, such idle assets are shelved indefinitely and seldom unfrozen for use. Thus, a considerable portion of the labor means is severed from social reproduction. Is this not precisely a concrete manifestation of the bourgeois spendthrift style?

2. The equipment utilization rate of fixed assets in use is also very low. It has actually become normal for the utilization rate of machine equipment to remain constantly at 20 to 30 percent, and it is not rare for it to drop below 10 percent. For a small production workshop in our plant, excluding the plant building, the 13 units of technical equipment (including imports) alone cost a total of 102,000 yuan, yet the total value of the annual output for 1978 was only 32,000 yuan. Such serious waste is alarming.

In sum, we can see that the system has seriously restricted the development of the production force. To hasten the four modernizations, we must promptly remove this "stumbling block."

Comrade Ye Yushu [5509 3768 2885] (Jingou Supply and Marketing Cooperative, Nanan, Fujian): Comrade Sun Yefang considered the "excessively long term of depreciation" as one of the main reasons for "reproducing antiques and freezing technical progress." He said that to thoroughly change the equipment management system of "reproducing antiques and freezing technical progress" "we must first raise the depreciation rate and shorten the term of depreciation. If it is impossible to shorten the term to around 4 or 5 years as in the industrially advanced countries, we should not fall behind the renewal cycle already attained by Western nations in the 19th century, i.e., the period of depreciation should not exceed 10 years." His view deserves further exploration and discussion.

As we all know, under the socialist system the goal of depreciation of fixed assets is, of course, to assure the renewal of equipment, but what is even more important is to compute more accurately the labor equivalent of materials. Precisely for this reason, when we consider the term of depreciation we must first consider the tangible wear and tear before the intangible wear and tear. As for capitalist society, to earn a greater profit, conceal the extent of exploitation and pay less income tax, the capitalists will always do their utmost to shorten the term of depreciation in order to create a false image by exaggerating the labor equivalent of social products and conceal their income from profit.

From this it can be seen that to compute accurately the labor equivalent of materials and to practice socialist planned economy, it is necessary to include an accurate amount of depreciation in cost. Equipment still in use beyond its term of depreciation should be depreciated according to its original rate of depreciation or be reappraised and depreciated accordingly. Otherwise, the product cost will not reflect the labor equivalent of the equipment used, thus showing a false reduced cost. Comrade Sun Yefang considered an excessive term of depreciation as one of the main reasons for "reproducing antiques and freezing technical progress," and suggested that the term of depreciation be shortened and no depreciation be calculated in the use of old equipment. What he failed to realize is that in so doing, people will be more eager to use

old equipment. How can this be compatible with the goal of opposing "reproducing antiques and freezing technical progress" and speeding up the renewal of equipment?

One can thus see that the primary reason for "reproducing antiques and freezing technical progress" is the general obsolescence and over-centralization of the equipment management system itself and not the low depreciation rate. Therefore, the key to hastening technical progress is in adopting a management system which can mobilize all the active elements and promote the technical innovation of equipment, not in simplistically raising the depreciation rate of fixed assets.

Comrade Zhu Zhaoliang [2612 0340 0081] (Kunming 14th Metallurgical Construction Company): In his article "On the Necessity of Reforming the Equipment Management System That 'Reproduces Antiques and Freezes Technical Progress'" Comrade Sun Yefang discussed the issue of simple and expanded reproduction. He felt that the expansion of the scale of production due to improved labor productivity, i.e., expanded reproduction of the volume of materials, must be distinguished from expanded reproduction due to reserves or additional investment. This is doubtlessly correct. However, I feel that some issues require further clarification.

When we study the issue of reproduction, though we must distinguish between improvement in labor productivity and reserves or additional investment and guard against lumping the two together, we must not overlook the close link between them. They often mutually condition each other and mutually serve as cause and effect. First of all, an increase in reserves is conditioned on an improvement in labor productivity. According to the Marxist theory of reproduction, surplus products constitute the only source of reserves. How do we increase surplus products? One important way is to improve labor productivity, which is especially true under the socialist system. In China's current condition, in our advance toward the four modernizations, the constant tapping of the potentialities of existing enterprises, innovation, reform and improving labor productivity will increase the reserves and expand the source of funds needed in the development of the national economy. Next, improvement of labor productivity depends on a certain amount of reserves and additional investments. With improved labor productivity and increased output, even if no new equipment is added, an enterprise must increase its consumption of raw materials. Therefore, it must have additional production means or reserves; otherwise, improving labor productivity will be merely an empty phrase. When an automobile plant produces 1 or 10 more automobiles, or even 100 more, it may be able to solve the raw material problem by practicing economy. However, it will not be able to do so if a larger number of automobiles is to be produced. Currently, by means of tapping potentialities, innovation and reform, some existing enterprises, without additional investment, have raised their output tens of percent, or even doubled it. Without additional

raw materials or investment, economy alone will not work. For instance, a certain metallurgical mine in Yunnan built a medium-sized mine and a corresponding medium-sized ore dressing plant. However, the new ore dressing plant was never used, because the existing ore dressing plant, after tapping potentialities, innovation and reform, improved its labor productivity and increased the volume of ore processing by about 30 percent, and it was able to handle the entire ore output of the new mine. Had the matter been given full consideration ahead of time, the new ore dressing plant would not have to be built, and several million yuan of investment would have been saved. Nevertheless, this explains from another aspect that the improved labor productivity of the existing ore dressing plant was realized because of the new mine and the additional investment. Thus, when we study the issue of reproduction we must not ignore entirely the improvement in labor productivity.

Comrade Zhong Dong [1813 2639] (Suzhou Jiangsu Teachers College): Comrade Sun Yefang's article "On the Necessity of Reforming the Equipment Management System That 'Reproduces Antiques and Freezes Technical Progress'" hit the nail on the head. His expositions are profound and thorough and possess an important significance in theory and practice. I fully support his analysis of China's existing economic system and his suggestions for reform measures. However, I feel that further discussion is required on his refutation of the "theory of the progressive decrease in speed" at the end of the article, though it does not affect the accuracy of the article as a whole.

When Comrade Sun Yefang refuted the "theory of the progressive decrease in speed" with the "egg laying rate" as an illustration, he said: "If this self-serving theory is tenable, then we must recognize the following logic: The average laying rate per hen in a chicken farm decreases progressively with the expansion of the scale of the farm. The laying rate of a farm of 100,000 hens is lower than that of 50,000 hens, the latter is lower than that of 10,000 hens, the latter is lower than that of 1,000 hens, etc."

Leaving aside the question of the accuracy of the "theory of the progressive decrease in speed," I feel that simply starting from the fact that the average laying rate does not progressively decrease because of the expansion in scale of the chicken farm will not, in logic, lead to the conclusion that the "theory of the progressive decrease in speed" is wrong.

First, the average laying rate per hen of a chicken farm will not progressively decrease with the expansion in the scale of the farm; on the contrary, it may increase with the improvement in production technology. This is a fact which leaves no room for doubt. But it does not indicate that the "theory of the progressive decrease in speed" is wrong. The laying rate expresses the level of labor productivity and manifests itself in the amount of use value, while the economic growth rate

expresses the scale of the growth of the total social production volume and manifests itself in the sum total of all kinds of social products in a unified form; therefore, the economic growth rate manifests itself via the amount of exchange value. That a simple parallel cannot be drawn between the two is evident.

Next, the expansion of the scale of chicken raising (the number of chickens raised) cannot be compared with the expansion of the "base" of the economic growth rate. The scale of chicken raising only includes the total number of laying hens; therefore, its expansion will result in a proportionate increase in egg output. Thus, the laying rate will not decrease progressively. On the other hand, the "base" of the economic growth rate, i.e., the total production volume of the previous period, includes not only the value of the living means required by those creating value in the production process in the subsequent period, but also the value of production means which cannot create value. Therefore, the expansion of the "base" will not result in a proportionate increase in the total volume of output. In view of the above distinction, the laying rate will not decrease progressively with the expansion of the scale of chicken raising (the number of chickens raised), while it is entirely possible for the economic growth rate to decrease progressively with the expansion of the "base." Here the main reason is that the ratio of the amount of production means in the social production funds becomes ever greater. Therefore, it is impossible for the illustration of the "laying rate" to refute the "theory of the progressive decrease in speed," and it has not done so.

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CSO: 4004

A PROBE INTO A NUMBER OF CURRENT QUESTIONS CONCERNING LITERATURE AND ART

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 2 Sep 79 pp 41-45

[Article by Chen Yi [7115 3085]]

[Text] The focus of the whole party's work is currently being shifted to socialist modernization. This is a historic turning point. At this crucial moment, which serves as a link between the past and the future, all professions are facing numerous issues, including those concerning literature and art. Our party has exercised direct leadership over literature and art for several decades. It has acquired a great deal of valuable experience and learned many serious lessons. During the past few decades, some issues have always been discussed in the same way. Now the situation has changed. Can these issues be discussed as they were in the past? Which ones should be upheld? Which others should change and how? After going through the discussion of practice being the sole criterion for testing truth, all have begun to understand the hard-and-fast rules restricting literary and art creation. What should we do to completely shatter these restrictions? A more important question is: What should we do to bring about a flourishing state in our literary and art creation after we have removed the obstacles in our advance? We must "emancipate the mind, 'start up the machinery,' seek truth from facts and unite and look forward," as the third plenum of the 11th party Central Committee pointed out. Emancipating the mind means applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in studying the new situation and solving new problems. That is to say, we should know the objective law and transform the objective world. For this reason it is highly necessary to make a thorough probe into some current issues concerning the theory and practice of literary and art creation.

Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" was published 37 years ago. It summarized some of our party's basic views on literature and art. In their later speeches Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Chen Yi elaborated on and added to this. Restudying these speeches by Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Chen Yi in the light of our current actual situation will be of great benefit to us. The current situation is certainly not the same as that 37 years

ago. Comrade Hua Guofeng made an all-round analysis of the changes in the conditions of classes in our country in his report to the second session of the Fifth NPC. He pointed out: The landlords and the rich peasants have ceased to exist as classes. The capitalists no longer exist as a class. The masters of our socialist society are the socialist workers, peasants and intellectuals and those other patriots who support socialism. Of course, elements hostile to socialism will continue to exist. Class struggle has not yet come to an end. This political situation is greatly different from that 37 years ago. Nevertheless, the fundamental spirit of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" is still applicable in literature and art. Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong's speech at the Yanan forum on literature and art and the speeches of Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Chen Yi at the meetings in Guangzhou should be taken as three documents currently guiding our literary and art creation.

One of the questions is, "Whom do our literature and art serve?" Because various antisocialist elements continue to exist in our society, there still is the question of "for whom" in literature and art. Will you serve these reactionaries? Comrade Mao Zedong formerly suggested serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. This orientation was very important. It was supported and approved by Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Chen Yi. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out when he concretely explained this slogan: First, we serve the workers; second, we serve the peasants; third, we serve the revolutionary fighters; fourth, we serve the petty-bourgeois working masses and intellectuals in the cities. Obviously, he did not exclude the laboring masses other than the workers. Nor did he exclude the intellectuals. Today the intellectuals have become part of the proletarian working class. In fact, serving the workers, peasants and soldiers also means serving them and the other patriots who support socialism.

Another question is how writers should plunge into the thick of life as mentioned in the "talks." I think it is meaningful to reiterate this point today. Recently I saw a few spy films. They were all about stealing blueprints. Are blueprints so very important today when science and technology are highly developed? Choosing the subject matter involves a question of daily life. In actual life there are many incidents which have very complicated events. By plunging deep into the thick of life and going deep among the masses to gather information, it is possible to write a unique script for a spy film. I also watched the performances presented by a song and dance troupe. I felt that these performances were only "a medley of dances." I could not figure out the idea they meant to impart to the audience. I also could not detect the themes of some symphonies. Each of the four movements had a climax, so the symphony as a whole did not have a climax. This is not true of our life and thinking. Literature and art should reflect the moods of the people. To achieve this goal, a writer should plunge into the thick of life. Of course, each of the writers and artists has his own experiences,

and they should not all be expected to create the same things. Comrade Mao Zedong did not demand uniformity when he talked about this issue. He said: Some may plunge into the thick of life for a longer period, and others may do so for a shorter period. Those who cannot "dismount to look at the flowers" may "look at the flowers on horseback." He was correct.

Plunging into the thick of life involves great hardships. All literature and art workers who want to plunge into the thick of life should make up their minds; that is, they should be prepared for hardships. I think we should emulate the woman reporter in the film "Longing for Home." To gather information she left a big city for a remote village and lived with an eccentric old woman in an unsanitary environment. Yet she never complained or acted displeased. Even when the old woman introduced her to the neighbors and told them that she was her daughter-in-law, she kept silent and restrained herself. Do we have this spirit? Unfortunately, some people are not so tolerant. However, it was in this spirit that the woman reporter succeeded in getting firsthand information from the old woman.

Leaders should enthusiastically support the writers and artists who want to plunge into the thick of life. They should not create obstacles. There is a bad tendency of accusing writers and artists of just visiting scenic spots without making concrete investigations of their trips. To learn from real life, the writers and artists have to "observe, experience, study and analyze all kinds of people, all classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, all the raw material of literature and art," and sometimes they have to visit many places. How can they be accused of just visiting different scenic spots? Even so, a writer or an artist should have some knowledge of the beautiful rivers and mountains as well as the scenic and historical sites of the motherland. He should be allowed to visit scenic spots if he has the time. Did the famous historian Sima Qian not make trips to many beautiful rivers and mountains? These trips benefited him when he later wrote the "Records of the Historian." Of course, not all writers who have visited beautiful spots can produce great works. However, leaders of literary and art work should not be so shortsighted that they only allow writers to see the things they are required to see. This method of work will cause the writers' creations to suffer from an inherent shortage or be short of substance. Because writers never saw things before does not mean that they do not "need" them in their creations. Rigidly confining the writers' lives to a narrow scope and adopting a simple utilitarian view toward their plunging into the thick of life are greatly disadvantageous to literary and art creation.

Our literary and art creations must keep abreast of or at least keep close to the current political situation. Many of our literary and art workers are communist or nonparty revolutionaries and sympathizers. Our party respects the writers. The writers should show concern for the

party and the people. Writers are educators. They should think about how to educate the people. People have the right to impose demands on writers. When a writer dwells on a particular subject, he presents his viewpoint. Many subjects are placed before a writer. It depends on whether he should, can and dares to write about them. Whether he can write about a subject is a question of skill. Whether he should write about it concerns his analysis of objective life and, like the question of whether he dares to write about it, reflects his stand, viewpoint and attitude. A correct solution of these questions requires a correct stand and viewpoint. The question of a writer's world outlook is a fundamental question. It is also a long-existing question and a question of hard struggle. Of course, when a literary work is appraised and analyzed, it should not be rashly brought to the high level of world outlook.

Our literature and art have scored new developments since the smashing of the "gang of four." Yet these developments lag far behind the demands of the party and the people. The people are not satisfied with the current creation of films and novels. This makes us think. Are there currently obstacles to literary and art creation? What are these obstacles? I think there are things which fetter our minds and tie us hand and foot. These problems still exist: First, the ultraleftist views advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" are the biggest fetters. What sort of "models" are the characters created by the "gang of four"? They do not even know who their parents, brothers, sisters-in-law and sweethearts are. However, they are the progressive people who can solve any problem. Do our literary works still have these "models," which are influenced by the policy of the "gang of four" of "giving prominence to three things"? Are we still being fettered by these things? We should investigate these questions. The "gang of four" seriously harmed the literary and art circles. Many literary and art workers resolutely fought against them. However, we must also see that some of the ideas of the "gang of four" still influence the literary and art circles. In this world there is nothing which is completely pure, and everything divides into two. In the literary and art circles, some comrades who were seriously persecuted by the "gang of four" cannot get away from the "gang of four" stereotypes when they talk about some questions of literature and art or carry out literary and art creation. Is this not strange? Not at all. This shows precisely that the task of emancipating the minds of literary and art workers is still a very serious issue.

The influence of feudal ideas is also a very serious ideological obstacle. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" advocated feudal fascism, but we seldom opposed feudalism. Why are we easily influenced by some erroneous ideas which appear during the discussion on the criterion of truth? One reason is that we are obsessed by feudal ideas. Take me, for example. My mind has been emancipated step by step. Comrade Mao Zedong's cause is the cause of the whole party and all the Chinese

people. His correct thinking has brought happiness and a good life to the party and the people. However, just as no one can be free from mistakes, so Comrade Mao Zedong could not be free from shortcomings and mistakes. What should we do, then? We must take over his correct ideas and, as Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, have a complete and accurate grasp of Mao Zedong Thought; we must rectify the ideas which are not good or are erroneous. This does not mean being disrespectful and chopping down the red flag. Of course, we also oppose the practice of shifting responsibility to the higher levels when a problem arises. We communists, especially veteran cadres, must have the spirit of criticism and self-criticism. We are responsible for many historical problems. We participated in the 1957 antirightist movement and later in the fight against rightist deviation. When we look back now, can we say that we are not at all responsible for this? Some people maintain that they have always been correct. I am afraid that this is not true. Let us go further back, to the 1930's. At that time, some of us were young and naive. Can we say that we have always been correct? Today we do not mean finding out who should be responsible; we mean distinguishing between right and wrong, summing up experiences, eliminating confusion, restoring order and constantly marching forward. Practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. Correct ideas come from social practice alone. I once thought that if we really acted according to the "ten major relationships" after Comrade Mao Zedong put them forward in 1956 and after the 7,000-man meeting in 1962 we could have avoided many of the shortcomings and mistakes. However, this was a reality independent of man's will. Today we can emancipate our minds and raise our party's ideological standards to a high level. This is inseparable from the foolish things we did in the past and from our ability to analyze these foolish deeds and learn from them. We have paid for these lessons. The only problem is that the price was too high. All literary and art work based on party history should adopt the attitude of historical materialism. What is good should be portrayed as good, and what is wrong should also be portrayed as wrong. Portrayal of the enemy is a different thing. Do we not talk about "exposure and eulogy"? We should not separate them mechanically. We want to expose Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and to praise those comrades who were persecuted by them and those who struggled against them. Actually, this exposure is accompanied by praise. Exposing the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" means praising the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng and eulogizing the people. Exposing darkness means praising brightness. This is not "literature of exposure," nor do I agree with the term "literature of exposure." The works--such as "Counterattack" concocted by the "gang of four"--which call light dark and label the people as enemies are out-and-out counterrevolutionary literature of exposure.

In daily life there are some stereotypes which must also be shattered gradually. Many things were upset by the "gang of four." For example, the "gang of four" indiscriminately put the label "obscene" on literary and art works. Some comrades have been unwittingly influenced by them.

One example is the controversy over the Japanese feature film "Longing for Home" which was shown some time ago. The subject does not determine whether a piece of work is "obscene" or not. The portrayal of a brothel could be called "obscene" if it neglected the social significance of a brothel and one-sidedly exaggerated the physical relations between a man and a woman. On the other hand, how can a literary work be called obscene if, by portraying the miserable life of a prostitute, it exposes the evils of a social system, ruthlessly denounces the exploiters and oppressors and expresses boundless sympathy for those who are humiliated and hurt? A comrade once said: Thousands and thousands of people wear briefs and swim in the Songhuajiang every summer. No one condemns this. However, it becomes a serious matter when the same scene appears in a film. Why? Writers and artists must emancipate their minds from this wrong public opinion.

The process of emancipating the mind is a process of raising one's thinking. These are the two sides to this issue. To what extent should the mind be emancipated? To what level should thinking be raised? Why should the mind be emancipated? What should we do after emancipating our minds? We should emancipate our minds from the stereotypes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and from all feudalist fetters such as "every sentence is truth" and raise our thinking to the level of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the "four upholds." Shattering the stereotypes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" does not mean doing away with all stereotypes. There is no absolute freedom in the world. Freedom means understanding necessity. This necessity is the objective law of nature and social development. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought reflects the objective law of social development at a certain stage. Within this extensive scope, writers and artists enjoy full freedom to create and democracy in literary and art work and may show their talents as they wish. All patterns, subjects, styles and schools may develop freely and vie with each other in displaying their unique characteristics. All comrades are very concerned about the question of subject matter. Actually, there will be a wide range of subject matter after minds have been emancipated. Writers may dwell on subjects of ancient, modern and contemporary times. They may write about such ancient characters as the Guangwu emperor of the Han dynasty, Sima Qian and the Taizong emperor of the Tang dynasty and such modern characters as Yang Du, Tan Sitong and Liao Zhongkai. If we stand on the high plane of historical materialism and truly and artistically portray the ancient lives, the ancient subjects will play a role in enriching our wisdom and boosting our fighting spirit and will succeed in serving the four modernizations. Modern subjects are certainly more essential. Why is it not easy to deal with subjects concerning young people? "Lingering fear" is the main reason. We should see that if we are still obsessed with "lingering fear" we are keeping ourselves away from the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng. This is very dangerous. Take films, for example. Was there not a film entitled "The Younger Generation"? Why are we not able to write about a new "younger generation"?

Why should there not be the third, fourth, fifth and sixth series of "The Young People in Our Village"? With regard to the works which expose the "gang of four," what was revealed in "The Wounded" is far from enough. I do not agree with the term "literature of the wounded." If we do not completely eliminate the ideological influence of the "gang of four," we will meet obstacles in achieving the four modernizations. Exposing the crimes of the "gang of four" and distinguishing between right and wrong will benefit the four modernizations. The question now is to expose the "gang of four" more deeply. Exposure should not remain at the stage of superficial appearances. We should help the readers see through the superficial appearances and understand the social content and ideological meaning more deeply. That is not an easy job, and it requires a constant effort on the part of writers. Our duty is to enthusiastically encourage and protect young writers and bring them up (we also criticize them for the same purpose), because they know nothing about the war years and the spirit of the third plenum of the 11th party Central Committee. They have only experienced the miseries caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Their works faithfully and simply reflect these miseries. This reflection inevitably has certain defects. The duty of the critics is to help them improve. They must understand that these young writers are the successors to our literary and art cause.

Comprehensively summing up our experience in literary and art work is a matter of great significance. This summing up should not remain at the theoretical stage but must be closely combined with literary and art creation. Some comrades hold that there should be different schools in film making. This is sensible. Judging from historical experience, the presence of different schools is a sign of prosperity in literature and art. Beijing operas of the "Gai Jiaotian school" have recently been staged in Shanghai. Efforts are also being made to save some schools of art which will soon become extinct. I think we should review and seriously examine and analyze some past literary works and films so that we can discover the experiences of success and sum up the lessons of failure. We are not afraid of failure. We fear interpreting a failure as a success. "Failure is the mother of success" does not mean that we will naturally succeed after failing. If we fail and do not know the reasons, and if we are muddleheaded and work in the same way, we can only make greater failures. Only those who seriously sum up their experiences and promptly correct their mistakes will succeed. Moreover, the things which were formerly regarded as a success should be emancipated boldly so that they can bring still greater success. It is not easy to achieve this, because some people have turned their success into a burden which they cannot throw off.

In his "talks" 37 years ago, Comrade Mao Zedong began by asking for the help of literary and art workers. He said: The aim of this forum is "to insure that revolutionary literature and art follows the correct path of development and provides better help to other revolutionary

work." His words were meaningful. The "gang of four" have now been smashed. All comrades agree that the current situation is excellent. We should pay close attention to this excellent situation. We have recently strengthened propaganda on the four modernizations and the national economy and have reduced ordinary political propaganda. What is meant by making literature and art serve politics? First, we should have a clear understanding of what politics is. We should see that the current task of achieving the four modernizations is the greatest political work. Creating literary and art works which play a role in the four modernizations means serving politics. There is immediate service and long-term service, as well as direct and indirect service. The most important point is that writers should not explain politics by using diagrams, but must create good works by making full use of the artistic forms and grasping the special characteristics of art so that more and better flowers will grow in our garden of literature and art.

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DISCUSSIONS OF PARTY LEADERSHIP OVER LITERATURE AND ART

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 2 Sep 79 pp 46-52

[Text] Recently the Propaganda Department of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee and the Literature and Art Department of this publication invited some of Shanghai's literature and art workers to a forum on current work in literature and art, and the issue of how the party should exercise leadership over literature and art was discussed. The following articles by Comrades Wu Qiang [0702 1730], Wang Rowang [3769 5387 2598], Luo Zhufeng [5012 4554 7364], and Tang Zhenchang [0781 2182 1603] were prepared from their statements at the forum.

On the issue of how the party should exercise leadership over literature and art, there have been abundant experience and profound lessons for many years. Different views have always existed, and we hope to launch a discussion.

Some Personal Experience in Creative Writing

[Article by Wu Qiang]

[Text] To lead literary and artistic creation we must understand the reality of the writer and allow him to write according to his situation and conditions; we must not make concrete and arbitrary provisions for him to follow. If we specify the subject matter of his creation and even the format of his work, willfully issue directions, assign him tasks or even set a time limit for completion, it will only stifle literary and artistic creation, disappoint the leadership and discourage the writer. There have been many such lessons in the past decades, and I would like to discuss my personal experience below.

After the publication of "Red Sun" in July 1957, I began preparations for "Fortress," another novel. First I recalled the raw material in

the struggle against clearing the village in 1943 and 1944 during the war against Japan, and I wrote separate episodes and character portrayals. Thereafter I visited Nantong, Haimen, Qidong and Rudong to collect and supplement the raw material for my creation. In the winter of that year I revisited the region to make surveys and read reference material and documents. In the spring of 1958 I "settled" in the village of a major figure to be portrayed in my work in order to gain a deeper insight into some individuals and familiarize myself with the local feelings, customs and language. However, a few months later I was recalled to Shanghai, because, it was claimed, the "Great Leap Forward" had arrived, and Shanghai writers must first write about Shanghai, and primarily about Shanghai's industry. At this time a "literary and artistic creation command post" was formed, and I had no choice but to obey orders and follow instructions, go down to a plant and serve as the "assistant plant chief" of a printing and dyeing mill. From 1958 to the end of 1959, for a period of about a year and half, I wrote a movie script on an industrial subject. As my experience in the subject was inadequate, the result was a reject. Other than that, I did only one article on an interview with an old worker, about 4,000 or 5,000 words. In 1960 the "Great Leap Forward" ended, severe natural disasters occurred and the creation command post no longer commanded. Thereupon, I returned to Nantong and resumed my old plan to write "Fortress." In February or March of that year I completed the gist of the story, the outline of the chapters and sections and a detailed list of the characters. Thereafter I began writing the novel. By the fall of 1961 I had completed 150,000 words. In 1962 I went to Guangdong and Fujian and wrote another 150,000 or 160,000 words. By the spring of 1963, Part I of the novel was almost finished, requiring only another 50,000 or 60,000 words, and half of the project would have been completed. At this juncture a high official in Shanghai issued the appeal to "vigorously write about the 13 years." He said that the 13 years since the founding of the nation were 13 years of socialism, and he asked the writers to depict them vigorously. Those with living experience would start writing immediately, and those without such experience would go below to gain experience. Zhang Chunqiao, serving under him in Shanghai in charge of literature, followed his lead in issuing orders. At a meeting of the Central Propaganda Ministry, he vigorously discussed the 10 great advantages of "writing about the 13 years" and created a "pressure situation." In such a situation I could only lay aside the almost completed Part I of "Fortress" and go to Jiangsu to "penetrate life" and "write about the 13 years." I first went to Dantu and then to Changshu. In the 2-plus years I wrote two articles on the "13 years"--"Summer Scene in Jiangxinzhou" and "Chen Yongkang in Changshu"--totaling 15,000 words. In 1965 I returned to Shanghai. Not long thereafter the "turbulent storm" of the Great Cultural Revolution arrived. Immediately, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" enforced a cultural tyranny, depriving me completely of my political rights and the right to write. My handwritten manuscript of "Fortress," totaling over 300,000 words, was seized as a "not yet emerged big poisonous weed." In 1976 the vicious "gang of four"

was smashed. In February 1978 I was lucky to recover the greater part of my manuscript. Finally I realized my original desire and completed Part I of "Fortress" in the first half of 1979. It is a novel of only 400,000 words. Yet under the "pressure situation" and the will of the superior official its writing was twice interrupted. On top of that, with Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" literary inquisition for 10 years, it took more than 20 years to complete the novel.

The revolution is progressing, democracy is developing and the party's leadership over literary and artistic creation will constantly strengthen itself and improve. The criminal cultural tyranny must never be permitted to reappear, and the phenomenon of willful and blind directions by superior officials in violation of artistic laws must never occur again. Only thus will literary and artistic creation prosper.

On 'Governing by Doing Nothing' in Literature and Art

[Article by Wang Rowang]

[Text] The abundant positive and negative experiences in leading literature and art in the 30 years since the founding of the nation await proper summation. Here I wish to discuss the experience known as "governing by doing nothing."

"Governing by doing nothing" is one of the important points of the philosophy of Lauzi and Zhuangzi. It means permitting the people to rest and multiply and to farm and feed themselves, and the superior officials must refrain from disturbing or interfering with them. Let us not concern ourselves here with whether the principle is correct or not. I wish to borrow the phrase to discuss the issue of leadership in literary and artistic work.

Literary and artistic creation involves highly complex spiritual activities and calls for personal labor with independent thinking. Reforming their world outlook is naturally important for writers, but such administrative measures as sending them to the rural areas, holding study meetings for discussions and statements, resorting to the method of criticism and struggle or ordering them to labor in cadre schools will not produce any good results. Literary and artistic workers often gradually accomplish the reform of their world outlook by penetrating the masses and gaining experience, by undergoing artistic influence and by means of demonstration by models, and they thereby acquire the subject matter of their creation and inspiration. Flourishing periods in literature and art have appeared in China and foreign countries, in ancient and modern times, but they are not the result of the harsh and tedious interference, or the orders, of the leading organs of the state. The intent of proletarian states in giving serious attention to the leadership of literary and artistic creation and in cherishing the writers is good. However, as sometimes we fail to understand the

characteristics of art, we often issue blind instructions in violation of the laws of art and apply the methods of leading industrial production to literature and art, such as "assigning creative tasks," "specifying the ratio of subject matters," "writing about the central theme and performing the central theme," or "the leaders provide the ideas, the masses provide life, and the writers provide the skill." As for beating with a big stick, affixing labels and trampling on literary and artistic work by means of savage feudal fascist measures practiced by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," they were something of another essence, and we will not discuss them here. In sum, the result of too much interference and too detailed management will be contrary to expectations. Not only can literary and artistic creation not prosper, but a hundred flowers, instead of blooming together, will all wither and die. It is the situation in which, "when a flowering tree is planted deliberately, no flower blooms; when a willow branch is pushed into the soil casually, it becomes a shade tree." Willows have their special characteristics. They are easy to grow and require no meticulous cultivation. As long as there are soil below and sunshine above, they will thrive. When leading literary and artistic work, our party, in fact, only needs to supply the writers with soil and sunshine. The party's concern and a stable and united political situation are the sunshine, and living with the masses and breathing the same air and sharing the same destiny with them are the soil. Some leaders of literary and artistic work, with good intentions, like to issue orders and make gestures, because they have a wrong assessment of writers and artists. They always feel that writers and artists may, intentionally or unintentionally, lose their bearings and spread poisonous remarks. They treat literary and artistic workers like kindergarteners or elementary school students who have to be led by nannies when crossing an intersection. Little do they know that literary and artistic workers, with pen in hand, have long been a revolutionary contingent under the party's leadership. Especially after the severe tests of the dark years of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," they should be trusted to do their independent thinking and creation.

As the history of literature and art of the past 30 years has shown, the party followed a rather liberal policy in the early period of the founding of the nation. High-level leaders only summarized the creative achievements at several literary delegates meetings, pointed out the direction of the future, commended the good works and discussed the unsound trends. The method of leading literature and art followed by Premier Zhou and Comrade Chen Yi is our model. They widely made friends with literary and artistic workers and held heart-to-heart talks with them. Even when they criticized certain inadequacies in the works, they did so in the form of suggestions by ordinary readers. They never used their personal preference as the criterion, nor did they ever render judgment in one word. In those days the field of literature and art flourished, and, like bamboo shoots after a spring rain, many good works (including movies) appeared; they still attract large numbers of readers and viewers.

Regrettably, the situation did not last very long, and extremely harsh rules, almost with the force of law, appeared. Only a few at first, they multiplied. Finally, they poured down like a hailstorm, and the writers, dumbfounded, were unable to put their pen to paper. The rules included the following: "There must not be defects and vacillation in heroic figures"; "depicting love is spreading the petit bourgeois sentiment"; "depicting school life and youth movements is incompatible with the worker-peasant-soldier direction"; "heroic figures must not fail or die; death is pessimism and disappointment"; "love between parent and child and between man and woman is the theory of human nature"; "writing for children with the psychology and language of children is the bourgeois theory of childish innocence"; "revealing the defects in our work is attacking the socialist system"; "intermediate figures must not be portrayed"; "the party's erroneous lines in history must not be mentioned; the figures representing such lines must not be portrayed"; "tragedies and satires are no good." There were many such instances. In this situation, literary and artistic workers were placed under all kinds of ideological restrictions. It was like stepping on thin ice, standing at the edge of an abyss. How could there be any decent work?

The "gang of four's" "main theme ahead of everything" and "three stresses" and the conspiratorial literature and art it promoted were born from the above articles of "law." This ultraleftwing trend reached its peak in the Great Cultural Revolution and created a "vast and empty land."

Actually, Comrade Chen Yi proposed the principle of "governing by doing nothing" at the Guangzhou Conference in 1962. He said: "It seems that many things can be left alone. If we exercise leadership over everything, we may produce bad results. It is better to leave some things alone. We must know that exercising leadership may be successful at times and unsuccessful at times. When we are confident of success, we can proceed; otherwise we should leave it alone and let those with experience handle it, and we can sit back and enjoy the fruits of their labor." What foresight and excellent exposition!

In that case, do we want the party's leadership? Naturally. But we no longer want the leadership of issuing orders from above and didactic teaching and rectifying. What we hope for is that today's leading comrades of literature and art will truly undertake the functions of "service stations and supply stations." We also hope that they will master the superior style of Premier Zhou and Comrade Chen Yi in leading literature and art. If they cannot master it completely all at once, they should first learn to be amiable and easy to approach, to treat others with equality, to respect the labor of writers and to assure the concrete implementation of the "three nots principle." This will greatly improve the relationship between the leading comrades and literary and artistic workers and help cure the "lingering apprehension." Naturally, the leading comrades have the responsibility to criticize the defects and errors in the works, but they must do so with warmth and in a

friendly manner, or by means of free discussions, and not by arrogance or pressure. To attain this point, the leaders must primarily understand literature and art, realize the hardships and difficulties of creative work and be willing to serve as elementary students.

Should soundness be stressed in leading literature and art? I feel that, in the situation of greatly relaxing the restrictions, it is necessary to stress soundness. Actually, the criterion of soundness includes only two things: The four fundamental principles and the double-hundred policy. The problem now is that, even if the conditions for stressing soundness are very liberal and extremely simplified, there will be some comrades who will interpret the four fundamental principles as a stick to interfere in the writers' creative work. Such unpleasant incidents in the field of literature and art were often encountered in a previous period. It indicates that the remnant poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" ultraleftwing trend of thought still lingers on. To truly implement the "three nots principle" and democracy in art, a sustained and arduous struggle is required.

Arranging for the writers to go among the masses according to their own desire and characteristics is something of constant concern to our literary and artistic leading comrades. However, the simplified means of the past, severing at one blow and herding ducks, must not be followed. The "hue and cry" may appear lively on the surface for a time but will not benefit creative work in the least bit.

On the issue of subject matter, it is not necessary to specify what kind is essential and what secondary. It suffices to say that everything in the 3,000 years of ancient history, 100-plus year of modern history and 60 years of contemporary history may serve as subject matter and will give literary and artistic workers an unlimited horizon to move about freely. This is an extremely intelligent provision. "The eight immortals crossing the sea, each displaying his special prowess," easy to understand and vivid, proposed by the leading comrades of literature and art in Shanghai is along the same line. It will truly activate the enthusiasm of the writers and permit them to emancipate their minds and freely and fearlessly pursue creative work.

As for the creative method, it is not necessary for the leaders to meddle with it. Writers should be permitted to choose freely the method they prefer. In the past the integration of realism and romanticism was proposed, and the word "revolutionary" was added as a prefix. As practice has shown, until now there has been no work written according to this method. Furthermore, adding a political concept to literature is, in itself, not very scientific. Naturally, we may continue to explore this issue. However, assessed from the viewpoint of "governing by doing nothing," such a provision, to start with, is like drawing a snake and adding feet to it, producing no benefit.

In conclusion, "governing by doing nothing" does not abolish the party's leadership but is for the purpose of concretely changing its leadership style. The responsibilities of the leading comrades in literature and art will become heavier instead of lighter. From the point of view of the rise or decline of literature and art, as long as those above can "govern by doing nothing," literary and artistic workers will be able to make accomplishments freely. This is the dialectics of developing talents with plenty of scope and governing by doing nothing.

Criticism and the Big Stick

[Article by Luo Zhufeng]

[Text] Criticism and self-criticism are the party's superior tradition which is ever present in our daily work and life. The reason running water is never stale and a door hinge never gets worm-eaten is that there is constant activity. In terms of man's mind, criticism and self-criticism have the effect of weeding through the old to bring forth the new.

Criticism is nothing other than proposing problems for deliberation, exploration and discussion in order to arrive at similar or unanimous opinions and to improve together.

Therefore, criticism must follow the principle of seeking the truth from the facts, aim at helping those criticized, present the facts and reason things out, and convince by reasoning. Seeking the truth from the facts is the scientific attitude, analyzing and evaluating historical facts and figures with the historical materialist attitude, searching for the cause and effect of history's development and restoring its original features. Toward reality we must, by means of investigation and study, strive to conform to the objective reality and master the inherent laws of matters. Neither exaggerating nor minimizing, we must do our utmost to be just right. To help those criticized, the main thing is to treat others as equals, take the attitude of consultation in everything and avoid arbitrary decisions, orders and arrogance.

Literary and artistic criticism is also thus. It must serve as a motive force to promote the prosperity of creation and produce the effect of irrigation, cultivation and pruning. We must first look at the main current and the general direction and avoid nitpicking. Even if a piece of work has defects and errors, we must adopt the attitude of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient," analyze the reasons, and give directions on the way out, instead of killing with one blow and forcing the person into a dead end.

When we criticize, naturally we must allow counter-criticism. The purpose of exchanging opinions and mutually discussing and arguing is to

improve understanding together and arrive at unanimity as much as possible. No one may suppress criticism and counter criticism. It will not be fair if only you are allowed to talk while others may not defend themselves. Even in deciding cases, the court must carry out investigation and study and hear the statements of the plaintiff, defendant, witnesses and counsel before it can render a fair judgment. It is even more so when it comes to literary and artistic criticism. Criticism is for the purpose of bringing prosperity to creative work and promoting unity. The so-called "literary friends" mutually learning from each other by exchanging views and improving together should serve as our reference.

However, during the years of the "gang of four's" rampage and tyranny, criticism was actually turned into a big stick. Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan and their followers became a group of arrogant literary tyrants. They watched the directions and wielded the big stick in their hands, hitting this one and beating that one, as if, "with truth in their hands, they were invincible everywhere." Actually, they were merely a group of rascals "with no learning, but skills."* They relied on the high official in Shanghai and acted like fawning dogs. "One dog barks, and 100 dogs echo." Yao Wenyuan shouted, and his followers echoed. As public opinion was unanimous, they were powerful and arrogant. Regardless of the dispute, it was always one-sided. Like the Tai Mountain pressing down on one's head, their opponents were as silent as locusts in cold weather. Their lot was to suffer beatings and criticism, without the strength to defend themselves, let alone counter criticize. Unable even to read musical notes, Yao Wenyuan shamelessly discussed Debussy. When Comrade He Luting [6320 4845 3060] pointed out his mistakes, he flew into a rage. Comrade He Luting encountered encirclement and attack in all directions, and had his general account settled during the Great Cultural Revolution. He was jailed, and his family was broken up. At an esthetics discussion meeting, Yao Wenyuan bragged shamelessly and spoke with fervor and assurance, saying that the color white represented indifference and terror (white terror), the color red symbolized enthusiasm, and the color green was thus and thus. Comrade Zhou Gucheng [0719 6253 1204] asked in reply: How would he explain the fact that Chairman Mao's poem "Qinyuanchen--Snow" was white all through? Dumb-founded, Yao Wenyuan was unable to answer. All he could do was to record the account, to be settled when the opportunity presented itself.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" style of wielding the big stick greatly contaminated and poisoned the field of literature and art. Under their control, an extremely evil trend of discarding reason, punishing indiscriminately and rendering spiritual death sentences at every turn was

*Comrade Zhou Gucheng said: We are not afraid of those "with neither learning nor skill," because we can detect them at one glance. They are merely idiots. What we fear most are those "with no learning but skill." They specialize in scheming against others.

fermed, strangling the vitality of creative work, ravaging the policy of "a hundred flowers blooming; a hundred schools of thought contending," and creating desolation and depression in the world of letters.

Two kinds of people wielded the big stick. One kind consisted of those who were ignorant, simple-minded and opinionated. With an exaggerated opinion of their own abilities, they relied on the big stick to gain some small advantages. The other kind relied on the high official who backed them up. Following orders and fearing nothing because of their strong backing, they wielded the big stick anywhere they wished. No one dared to offend this kind of people. Yao Wenyuan and his like belonged to both kinds; therefore, he was nicknamed "Big Stick Yao." When Comrade Ba Jin [1899-1984] tactfully mentioned, at the Second Literary Delegates Meeting in Shanghai the fact that Yao Wenyuan liked to wield the stick, the high official flew into a rage and harbored a grudge. Even during the Great Cultural Revolution, Zhang Chunqiao still said angrily that "not executing you by gunfire is to implement the policy toward you!"

Naturally, the motive of some of those wielding the big stick was good. They considered themselves "defenders of the principle" and placed the party's interest first. Actually, like driving the chariot north when trying to go south, they often accomplished the opposite.

Since smashing the "gang of four," the people have acquired democratic rights, and they feel somewhat relaxed. But as for whether they feel at ease, it is difficult to say. A lingering apprehension is probably inevitable. It takes more than 1 day of freezing weather to form 3 feet of ice. But no matter what, the era of the unscrupulous and reckless Big Stick Yao is gone forever. Bringing order out of chaos is to restore and develop normal, healthy and comradely criticism and to firmly oppose big stickism under any label. "With justice on one's side, one can go anywhere; without it, one cannot take a step." Now is the time to wipe clean such feudalistic ethical norms as high officials oppressing others and classifying truth by levels!

We obey only truth, and we demand reasonable and effective criticism. As regards the big stick, we must all rise and attack it, treating it as a rat crossing the street, chased by everyone.

We believe that such a day will finally arrive, like the beautiful spring days after a severe winter.

Seeing Movie and Hearing Lecture

[Article by Tang Zhenchang]

[Text] A friend gave me two tickets to the film "Murder on the Nile," scheduled for 0845 on Sunday. Having gone to bed late, I found that it was after 0800 when I woke up. Hurriedly I got dressed and organized

and rushed to the theater with my daughter. Fortunately, the movie had not started before we, covered with perspiration, took our seats. Thereupon I settled down in anticipation of the film.

In a little while the curtain slowly rose. But what surprised me was that a woman comrade ascended the stage. I was puzzled and wondered whether it was a last-minute change or whether it was going to be a meeting instead of a movie. After hearing the introduction, I learned that, for the purpose of helping the audience understand the movie correctly, a comrade of the movie review group of a certain ward was specially invited to give a guidance lecture before the showing. Thereupon the lecture began. Thereupon I stood up and went out for a smoke. After two cigarettes I figured that it was time to see the movie and slowly walked back to my seat. I asked my daughter whether the lecture was about to end. She answered: "Not yet! It covers a total of three big points and four aspects."

I then thought that possibly today's showing was for the movie propaganda personnel, who had to report on the lecture after returning to their units. But all those sitting near me said that they had bought admission tickets, and no one had the duty of reporting. The lecture continued "enthusiastically." The audience had long started to whisper to one another. It had great patience, but I wondered whether it was a virtue. Though many people whispered, no one protested, except for one person whistling. Nevertheless, the whistler whistled, the whisperers whispered and the lecturer lectured, and she had the megaphone in her hand!

Finally, the lecture was completed, and it had taken almost 40 minutes. (Editor: We must treasure the people's valuable time. Wasting time is the greatest waste.) Not only did I wonder about the waste of so much time, but I also wanted to ask whether it was necessary to give a lecture on the movie. As for appreciation of the movie, would it not be better for the audience to see the movie itself and discuss it? If it is disinfection, I failed to see what poison there was in the movie to be disinfected. (Even if it was a poisonous movie, whether such on-site disinfection was effective was doubtful.) I heard two points criticized by the lecturer: The movie distorted the Marxists; the actor said that murder was committed due to poverty. Good heavens! Thanks to the prompt guidance, for otherwise everyone would have thought that the one wearing eyeglasses was a true Marxist! As for the statement that "murder was committed due to poverty," what idiot would believe that? I truly wonder whether such on-site disinfection should be popularized or swept into the trash pile.

From there, I pondered further and realized certain hows and whys.

It is a good thing for literature and art to be managed, by the sections bureaus and the ministry. The question is how to manage. The writers cannot be trusted with this, and the writers cannot be trusted with that.

Thus, everything must be managed and made rigid. Literary and artistic workers are docile. The result is inevitably the death of a hundred flowers. We often say that Li, Du, Yuan and Bai did not emerge under anyone's management, nor did Tolstoy and Balzac. Lu Xun's compliance literature was to comply with the orders of the revolution, of the era and of the masses. However, I do not advocate abolishing management. In a socialist society the leaders' concern and proper management will only benefit the development of literature and art. As for creative work, recently the leading comrades of literature and art have time and again brought up the issue of opening up the subject matter and even suggested many historical figures and incidents. This is very good. As for the method of writing it, it should be left to the writers themselves, and it is not necessary for the leaders to establish any arbitrary provisions. Even for the same subject matter, different versions should be permitted to exist together. On Sima Qian, if we depict how he wrote such a great work in spite of his physical handicap, it will naturally be very good. But we must also permit the writers, through their own research, to portray him from other angles. Take Cao Cao as another instance: There was the Cao Cao of outstanding talent in Guo Lao's "Cai Wenji"; there was the Cao Cao of impassioned songs in the "Battle of Chibi"; there was the young general in "Discussing the Sword and Offering the Sword" of Kunqu Opera and Sichuan Opera; there was the Cao Cao of the big white mask which we are accustomed to. Or, we may even permit the Cao Cao of a somewhat foreign appearance in "Battling for Wancheng." What's wrong with permitting the different versions to coexist? Yang Du was a figure deserving portrayal. If we truthfully and historically depict how he turned from a notorious royalist into a glorious communist, it will only demonstrate the greatness of the party. Here the writers must be permitted to write according to the historical truth and enjoy full creative freedom.

I have been digressing and talking about the creative issue. Now I return to my original topic, which is how to manage literature and art. There should be more trust and more confidence in the masses, in their ability to discriminate and in the effect of practice. The disturbance over the Japanese film "Wangxiang" a while ago was an instance of not trusting the masses. This time, listening to an impressive lecture when I went to see "Murder on the Nile," was another instance. Today we have people who never trust the people's ability to appreciate and always make a big show to guard against the nonexistent poison in certain works. Does this phenomenon not call for our deep thought?

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WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE NOVEL 'LIU ZHIDAN'?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 2 Sep 79 pp 53-55

[Article by Chen Hongsu [7115 7703 5685]]

[Text] The party Central Committee recently ratified a report by the departments concerned on redressing the wrongs done over the past 17 years to the novel "Liu Zhidan," as well as on rehabilitating the comrades involved in this case. The revolutionary historical novel "Liu Zhidan" has finally taken off its "antiparty" hat and will soon appear. The broad masses of readers will be able to reach a public verdict after they have read the whole book and assessed the ideological and artistic achievements as well as the weaknesses and shortcomings of this novel. Here let us review the whole case from beginning to end and see how infuriating this literary inquisition is!

Strictly speaking, "Liu Zhidan," which was vilified as an "antiparty novel," is still in its infancy and is a half-finished book which has not yet been published. The author, Comrade Li Jiantong [2621 1691 1749], began the book in 1956 and revised his manuscript several times. The fifth manuscript, which was basically finalized in the summer of 1962, made up only the first half of the whole book. The publishing house printed the draft manuscript, submitted it for examination and made preparations to publish it. To one's surprise, it courted unexpected disaster. That so-called theoretician who later became the adviser to Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did not even read the draft manuscript, yet at a meeting of the party Central Committee he launched his attack, stubbornly insisting that this was an antiparty novel that aimed at reversing the verdict against Gao Gang. He butchered it vehemently. It was only after he had fabricated such "antiparty" cases as that against the novel "Liu Zhidan" that Comrade Mao Zedong said at one meeting that "the use of novel writing to engage in antiparty activities is a big invention." Comrade Mao Zedong also once said that it was this theoretician who had discovered the use of a novel to oppose the party. Obviously, in saying this Comrade Mao Zedong was not determining the nature of the novel "Liu Zhidan." By the spring of 1966 the party Central Committee still had not passed any judgment on "Liu Zhidan" and

the comrades concerned. During the Cultural Revolution, when that so-called theoretician colluded with Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the situation became quite different. Yao Wenyuan, in the first issue of RED FLAG in 1967, published a notorious, sinister article saying that Comrade Zhou Yang had "ganged up with a handful of antiparty careerists to actively support and encourage publication of the antiparty novel 'Liu Zhidan,' which aimed at reversing the verdict against antiparty element Gao Gang. He personally received the antiparty element who wrote this book," and so on and so forth. In a few sentences he used "antiparty" four times. From that time onward, that "Liu Zhidan" was an antiparty novel and that the author was an antiparty element became an indisputable verdict. The statement about "antiparty careerists" who "supported and encouraged" this novel was even more sweeping in its accusation. Xi Zhongxun [5045 0112 8113], Liu Jingfan [0491 2529 5400] and a group of leading comrades, formerly of the Shaanxi-Gansu revolutionary base area, made suggestions about some revisions in the book. Comrade Zhou Yang and other leading personnel of literary and art circles read the draft manuscript that was submitted for examination. Personnel of the Workers Publishing House, the GONGREN RIBAO and other units solicited contributions and published certain chapters of the novel. All of them were unable to escape and were tagged with the criminal label of "antiparty careerists." A large group of veteran cadres and veteran party members of the Shaanxi-Gansu area who had once been interviewed by the author and who had provided materials for the author were listed as "supporters" and "antiparty elements." Some comrades who had participated in examining this case were even accused of "covering up a crime." In this manner, surprisingly enough, a half-finished novel which had not yet been published bred a literary inquisition that involved vast numbers of people. Although it sounds absurd, it is nevertheless a bloody fact.

The premise of this modern literary inquisition was that the novel opposed the party. However, this is entirely an unwarranted charge and will not stand the test of facts.

On what basis should we test whether the political tendency of a literary work is indeed revolutionary or antiparty? We can only rely on the work itself. This ought to be the elementary commonsense of materialism. The political tendency of a work is necessarily, and can only be, revealed in the portrayal of the characters and in the development of scenes and the plot. If we depart from this objective, existing fact of the work itself, then does it mean that we can pass judgment by depending on men's subjective assumptions? However, how can we reason with that so-called theoretician and Lin Biao and the "gang of four"? They were imperious and despotic, extremely cruel and tyrannical, and were scoundrels who suppressed others with their authority. They were talented at playing with quotes out of context, at giving strained interpretations and drawing farfetched analogies, at creating something out of nothing and at using every means to have an innocent person convicted, as well as

in a whole series of tactics in weaving a literary net. In the case of "Liu Zhidan," they gave sufficient performances to concoct a series of such crimes as reversing the verdict against Gao Gang, glorifying Xi Zhongxun by erecting a monument to him and writing his biography, fabricating the party history, plagiarizing Mao Zedong Thought, and so forth. Such vicious means engendered extremely serious ideological and theoretical confusion and extremely serious disasters in literary and art work.

They said that the major crime of "Liu Zhidan" was that it aimed at reversing the verdict against Gao Gang. How did they prove that? The answer was: Gao Gang's original name was Gao Chongde [7559 1504 1795]. In the first few manuscripts of the novel there was a figure named Chongyan [1504 3503]. Both names had the word "Chong." Later on, in the draft manuscript, there was the name Luo Yan [5012 3508], which had the word "Yan" as in Chongyan. Thus, Luo Yan, who was Chongyan, was Gao Chongde. Therefore, to write about Luo Yan was to reverse the verdict against Gao Gang. How absurd such an arbitrary analogy was! True, there was a figure in the novel named Luo Yan. But he was a minor character and appeared on only seven or eight occasions throughout the first half of the book. The experience and identity of this Luo Yan did resemble Gao Gang in several respects. But this was a fictitious character. As the author explained long ago, the figure was recreated from the deeds of several people. In this book "Liu Zhidan," to portray the heroic image of the people's hero Liu Zhidan, a real name was used. There were other upright figures, such as Wei Yechou [7614 6851 3985] and Xie Zichang [6200 1311 7022], and villains such as Jing Yuexiu [0064 1471 4423]. Here, too, real names were adopted. But many more were fictitious characters. This situation in which real names and real people appeared simultaneously with fictitious characters was not a rare case in literary works of the past and present, in China and elsewhere. A novel is, after all, not a historical work. In order to refine the theme, focus the plot and portray the characters more effectively, the author relies on the materials supplied by actual life and concentrates the stories of several people in one fictitious character. In literary creation this is called typification and is common knowledge to all. No one, except those people who indulge excessively in ambiguities, will equate a figure in a novel with a historical figure. In order to foster an inquisition, that so-called theoretician went so far as to pick up what those people who go after ambiguities had spurned. Such a wind is still blowing to this day. We must solemnly propose that we resolutely eliminate such an ambiguous method of conviction in the future.

In this connection, there is still another question of right and wrong which must be clarified. The novel utilized certain materials about Gao Gang when he was in the Shaanxi-Gansu area. Should we therefore say that that is an attempt to reverse the verdict against Gao Gang? We all know that Gao Gang's antiparty activities took place in the early fifties. This had nothing to do with certain materials which the novel

adopted about him in the thirties. That so-called theoretician invented this method of raising the issue to a matter of principle and created a prohibited zone for the use of the history of the revolution in literary and art creation and for the study of party history. Regardless of the good a person had done in history, as long as he deteriorated, or made mistakes, or suffered from some false charges, his good deeds would be obliterated from history. As a result, many historical gaps were created. What is involved here is the question of how we are to evaluate historical figures. Looking at the question from the viewpoint of historical materialism, we should adopt a practical and realistic attitude in recording and evaluating a person's merits and demerits and rights and wrongs according to historical truth. As regards those people who once did good deeds but who turned bad or committed mistakes, we should appropriately evaluate the roles they once played and sum up the lessons of how they turned bad or made mistakes. In so doing we not only pay history our due respects but also educate our future generation. In treating Plekhanov, Lenin not only resolutely criticized his opportunist viewpoint but also sufficiently affirmed his historical merits toward Marxists of the early days. This should be an example for us to learn from.

They accused the novel "Liu Zhidan" of another major crime, which was that of fabricating party history. It was alleged that the novel established the Shaanxi-Gansu area as a rival of Jinggangshan and aimed at setting the Shaanxi-Gansu area as the "orthodox" location for the Chinese revolution. The book even "portrayed Liu Zhidan as being more brilliant and more prophetic than Chairman Mao." It was "an attempt to regard their thinking as the guiding thinking of the whole party." As such, this is unpardonable! But any unbiased reader, after finishing this novel, will be able to see that what the book emphasized was precisely how, under the circumstance when the enemy was dividing and blockading our forces and when the right opportunist line within the party occupied the ruling position, Liu Zhidan would always study and comprehend with great eagerness Comrade Mao Zedong's works whenever he obtained them and Comrade Mao Zedong's activities whenever he heard about them and would apply them to the revolutionary practice in the Shaanxi-Gansu area. Experiencing all kinds of hardship and yet remaining undaunted in spirit, he finally founded the Red Army of the Shaanxi-Gansu area, initially built the Zhaojin soviet area and enabled the revolutionary struggle of the Shaanxi-Gansu area to follow the road of Jinggangshan which Comrade Mao Zedong had blazed. In this manner, a majestic scroll painting of the revolutionary struggle of an area was unfolded in a broad vista, manifesting the victory obtained by integrating the thinking and line of Comrade Mao Zedong with the revolutionary practice of an area. Is this not precisely the kind of vivid revolutionary teaching material that the broad masses of readers need? Where is there any trace of opposing the party?

It is true that the book said that in the fall of 1928, when he returned to northern Shaanxi to reestablish the Yongningshan party branch, Liu Zhidan encouraged the party members by saying: "Before the great revolution there was not one party member. It is amazing that we now have a party branch. This is a single spark that will brighten half the sky!" He also said: "The Red Army under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong is now using Jinggangshan as its base to launch guerrilla warfare. The enemy in several provinces can do nothing against him. Shaanxi-Gansu does not have Jinggangshan, but it has Dashaoshan. We must learn from Comrade Mao Zedong, mobilize the masses, organize the Red Army and form an armed independent regime." (See Chapter 6 of Part II in the draft manuscript of the novel.) Surprisingly enough, these two passages became the important basis for that so-called theoretician to pass his verdict. He distorted these two passages and made them sound like propaganda for "a Jinggangshan in the south and a Yongningshan in the north" and "a Jinggangshan in the south and a Dashaoshan in the north," an attempt to set up a rival to Jinggangshan. He further said that Comrade Mao Zedong's "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire" was written in 1930. So, when the novel claimed that Liu Zhidan said in 1928 that a single spark could brighten half the sky, it was making Liu Zhidan more prophetic than Chairman Mao. Indeed, if you are out to condemn somebody, you can always trump up a charge! A history of the Chinese revolution actually should contain an extremely rich content of struggle in various periods and localities. When it took the road of an armed independent regime of workers and peasants and of encirclement of the cities from the rural areas, the Chinese revolution was actually traversing the tortuous process of "the west will shine if the east does not, and if the south darkens there is still the north." Within the prohibited zone drawn up by that so-called theoretician, one was forbidden to write about Dashaoshan or Honghu or Zuoyoujiang. On this analogy, we have only a solitary Jinggangshan. How, then, could the Chinese revolution have grown from small to large, from weak to strong, and how could it have won final victory throughout the nation? How, then, could the transfusion of the thinking and line of Comrade Mao Zedong throughout the country and their great guiding role in the revolutionary struggles in the various areas have been realized?

Nevertheless, these nonsensical charges appeared superficially to be "holding something aloft" and did in fact confuse and frighten a great many people. After 10 years of calamities we have finally got to the heart of the real motive of that so-called theoretician and of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In the guise of propagating Comrade Mao Zedong and exalting him, they set Comrade Mao Zedong in opposition to and separated Comrade Mao Zedong from the other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and isolated the revolutionary practice of Comrade Mao Zedong from the revolutionary practice of the whole party. They advocated the idealist theory of genius and engaged vehemently in modern blind worship. In fact, all they wanted was to set themselves up, to topple the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and to

attempt to establish their feudal fascist rule on this plot of land--China. As a result of the rampant deeds of these few buffoons, and as a result of the sabotage by their extreme left line, in our academic and cultural circles 10,000 horses stood mute, 100 flowers withered, prohibited zones stood like trees in a forest and everywhere there was wilderness. We all can still freshly recall such a scene.

Recalling the literary inquisition against "Liu Zhidan," we should draw on some really worthwhile lessons. Comrade Mao Zedong long ago stipulated correct general and specific policies on prospering and developing the socialist scientific and cultural causes of our country. The constitution and the party constitution clearly stated that the democratic rights of the people and of party members should be safeguarded. However, all these were utterly undermined by that so-called theoretician and by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." When we recall how, in those 10 years, they wantonly brandished political labels and clubs and wantonly wove literary nets to incriminate people, we can see clearly that the case of "Liu Zhidan" was but a rehearsal for the sinister plots they resorted to and for the large group of literary inquisitions they intentionally fabricated against works ranging from "Hai Rui Dismissed From Office" to the movie "Pioneers."

Now, propelled by the policy of "emancipating thinking, setting things in motion, doing things in a practical and realistic manner and looking ahead in unity" defined by the third plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee, a new scene of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend has appeared in literary and art circles. Nevertheless, people still often feel the assault of the cold wind of extreme leftism and see the flashes of clubs and helmets. In such circumstances, summing up the experience and lesson of this major unjust case of "Liu Zhidan" is extremely beneficial to eradicating the pernicious influence of the extreme left line of Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and that so-called theoretician and to breaking through the layers of prohibited zones they set up. We must not allow modern literary inquisitions such as that involving "Liu Zhidan" ever to happen again on the vast land of socialist China!

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PERNICIOUS INFLUENCE SHOULD NOT BE UNDERESTIMATED; TRUTH SHOULD BE FURTHER CLARIFIED THROUGH DEBATE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 2 Sep 79 pp 56-57

[Article by Xiao Gao [5135 7559]]

[Text] In its June issue this year, HEBEI WENXUE carried the article "'Praise Virtue' or 'Lack Virtue'" (hereinafter briefly called the "Praise" article), which openly aired its views on such points as praise and exposure by literary and artistic works, selection of subject matter, the deep involvement of writers in life, what is to be reflected and served by literature and art, how to look at the realities of life, and so forth. These viewpoints are not quite compatible with the reality of struggle and the current state of creation in our literary and art circles. They run counter to the guideline of emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts put forward at the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee. They are therefore one-sided and erroneous. Just as some newspapers and magazines pointed out, the article was "a gust of cold wind in the spring." Behind this gust of cold wind we can clearly feel that the influence of ultraleftist thinking in literary and art circles cannot be underestimated. This therefore must arouse our attention. We must initiate a discussion, distinguish between right and wrong and unify our awareness so as to further enliven socialist literature and art.

The first point that came to mind after we had read the "Praise" article was how to assess the current state of creation in literary and art circles and what is to be used as a criterion for assessment. How are we to assess those works appearing some time ago that portrayed personal, family and social tragedies caused by the persecution by Lin Biao and the "gang of four"? What are their basic trends? Should they be affirmed or negated? These are important problems bearing on the appraisal of the situation in literary and art circles as a whole. Social opinions on it vary.

Though without making a direct reference, the "Praise" article actually took up this problem. For instance, the article "specifies" the main

task of writing as "setting up monuments to the proletariat and dedicating new pieces to heroes in the four modernizations." Anyone who does so is "praising virtue," has "party spirit" and should be commended. Anyone who does not do so "lacks virtue," is "revisionist" and should be condemned. Nowhere in the article is there a positive word about a large number of good works devoted chiefly to exposing the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." From this it can be seen that its author does not approve of the current situation in literary and art circles and even considers it a mess. Why should he have made such an assessment? It seems that the reason may be traced to the ideological line of falsely "raising high" the banner that had been instilled in people's minds by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" over many years and to the personal preferences and hasty judgment of certain individuals.

Anyone who is a bit more objective will admit that since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the third plenary session, a large number of fine literary and artistic works originally banned and impounded have been put back into circulation. Professional and amateur literary and art workers have emancipated their minds and shown the courage to seek truth and look squarely at problems. They have displayed ebullient enthusiasm for writing. In a short period of time they have come out with a number of good or relatively good works which sing the praises of the revolutionaries of the older generation, expose the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," take up current social ills and give a true portrayal of life. They are closely bound up with real life and are compatible with the demands of the four basic principles and the four modernizations. They also reflect the wishes and aspirations of the masses of people. Therefore, these works have found a very favorable reception and support among the masses of people. Comrade Zhou Enlai said: "Art must be approved by the people. So long as the people love it, it has value." These words are profound and correct and to the point. The people are the state's "spine" and its masters and the driving force behind creation and development. All literary and artistic works, in the final analysis, must be judged and approved by the masses of people and not by individuals or a small number of people. Generally speaking, the more popular a work is, the greater the evidence proving its worth or value. The appearance of more works that are liked and approved by the people at a given time also indicates a more favorable situation in literary and art circles. Most of the aforementioned works exposing and indicting tragedies arising out of the false accusations and cases of framing people by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" are loved and approved by the masses and are valuable works. Though there are certain inadequacies or defects in some of them, the main trend is good. Why should we not fully affirm these works? Seizing on "upholding the four principles" as an excuse, the "Praise" article confines subject matter in a straitjacket and makes light of those works not to one's taste in "praising virtue," classifying them as literature and art that "lack virtue."

Another problem is how to correctly understand the relations between upholding the four basic principles and upholding the spirit of the third plenum and the guideline of emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts. It was claimed that the author wrote the "Praise" article "in an attempt to give expression to the spirit of upholding the four principles" after hearing the call to transmit the spirit of upholding the four basic principles. Leaving aside this matter itself, we must point out what is worth pondering. The party Central Committee's call to uphold the four basic principles is clearly in line with the spirit of the third plenum of the party Central Committee and the guideline of emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts. It aims at further arousing the whole party and the people throughout the country to follow a correct ideological line and to insist on taking practice as the sole criterion for testing truth and using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to study new conditions and solve new problems. But some people have erroneously held that the two are at odds and are even diametrically opposed to each other. They thus draw the conclusion that the earlier approach was rightist and excessive in "letting go" and was carried "too far." They believe this calls for a "retreat." They even let such a conclusion guide their actions. Why have they done so? There is no other reason than that they have not understood the realistic political significance of the party Central Committee's call for upholding the four basic principles and have become relatively seriously affected by the remnant poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They are therefore afraid of exposing contradictions, of "letting go"; they fear that the situation may get out of hand if "something" should happen. They have become relatively accustomed to thinking along the metaphysical line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," taking it as a basis in interpreting the general and specific policies of the party Central Committee.

Take the matter of praise and exposure in literary and artistic works, for instance. So long as we take the proletarian stand and make it our aim to serve the fundamental interests of the people, we can devote what we write to either praise or exposure. The socialist system is truly a new and superior system, with its bright side dominating the scene. But it cannot be denied that it also has its dark side, since there have been ferocious enemies like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and other counter-revolutionaries and various negative, backward and reactionary things harmful to the proletarian regime. All these must be exposed by our writers in their works and condemned, negated and used as negative examples to educate the people so as to arouse the attention of the leadership and the masses. Therefore, exposure also plays a positive role in maintaining the socialist system and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. This has not been understood by the writer of the "Praise" article. Here we can see more clearly that it is both necessary and urgent to carry out ideological education in the line and eliminate the remnant poison of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." As far as certain comrades relatively seriously influenced by the ultraleftist thinking of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" are concerned,

we must advise them to make up their minds to do some reading, arm their minds with dialectical materialism and achieve further success in following a correct ideological line. In studying problems in literature and art we must proceed from the realities of literary and art circles, refrain from being superstitious, following suit blindly, staying in a rut and telling lies, and aim to seek truth from facts without trying to please the public with claptrap.

Finally, the debate touched off by the "Praise" article reminds us of the need to constantly stress the guideline of letting a hundred schools of thought contend. The atmosphere of free discussion in literature and art and in the academic field must be further enhanced. It should be mentioned that this debate is necessary and significant, because it has helped expose problems, raised awareness and stimulated contending. Some views, whether right or wrong, have an enlightening effect on people. Therefore, we must continue to penetratingly implement the guideline of letting a hundred schools of thought contend. On the other hand, in contending and discussing we must be guided by the spirit of everyone being equal before the truth. We must not only make criticism and reply to criticism but also set forth facts and reason things out. We must adhere to the principle of the "three don'ts"--don't pick on people, don't put political labels on people and don't wield big sticks. Even if someone's opinion or viewpoint is obviously wrong, we must refrain from adopting a rude attitude. We must reason with him. Those comrades who have been criticized and who have something to say must also be given a chance to argue things out. Of course, if facts have proven our own viewpoints wrong, we should humbly accept correct views and just change our own. It should be noted that contending and free discussions are normal phenomena in literature and art and in academic fields. There is always one party representing what is relatively correct and one party representing what is wrong. This is nothing strange. We hope that through normal discussion we can gradually bring about a healthier development, more enthusiasm and more ease of mind as everyone joins in contending. By contending and discussion this way we can thoroughly eliminate the remnant poison of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and make truth increasingly clear through debate.

At present the whole party is deepening the discussion of the criterion of truth and applying the spirit of the third plenum of the party Central Committee to unifying the thinking and actions of the masses of party members, cadres and people. We firmly believe that, in the new situation in which the whole party and people throughout the country are devoting themselves to seriously eliminating the remnant poison and promoting the four modernizations, socialist literature will be further enlivened.

CUBA TODAY--A SATELLITE AND HIRED THUG OF SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 2 Sep 79 pp 58-62

[Article by Zhou Yan [0719 6056]]

[Text] In recent years the Cuban authorities have repeatedly professed their "support for the revolutionary and liberation movements of the world" and have tried their utmost to declare themselves "a nonaligned country." The Soviet revisionists have praised present-day Cuba for "playing a brilliant exemplary role in the world" and "being a superstar on the world stage." More and more countries and peoples of the world are asking this question: What actually is the relationship between Cuba and the Soviet Union? What role are the Cuban authorities playing on the international arena? What kind of actual "example" and "star" is Cuba? A look at conditions in Cuba today will clear up this question.

I

The Cuban people overthrew the dictatorship of the Batista regime in 1959 and threw the U.S. imperialist aggression forces out. For the sake of safeguarding the independence of the people and developing the national economy, Cuba adopted the following measures in the initial period of the victory of the revolution: confiscation of foreign plantations; transformation of the unitary economic structure of dependence on sugarcane and the diversification of agricultural crops; confiscation of foreign capital, particularly U.S. monopoly enterprises, and establishment of national industries suited to the unique features of Cuba; monopolization of foreign trade by the state; and pursuit of a more independent foreign policy. In this process Cuba received sympathy and support from the people of every nation and the many justice-loving countries of the world. However, because of subjective and objective reasons, it also encountered quite a few difficulties and setbacks.

For the sake of obtaining a foothold in Latin America to contend with the United States for hegemony, the Soviet revisionist leaders adopted a carrot and stick means to gradually strengthen their control over Cuba. The Cuban authorities also slowly abandoned their policy of independence

and self-determination and increased their dependency on the Soviet Union, until they finally completely threw in their lot with the Soviet Union and made Cuba economically and politically a Soviet satellite.

Economically, Cuba has put its own economy into the orbit of the so-called "economic integration" of the Soviet Union since formally joining "CEMA" in 1972. To buy the Cuban authorities and reward them for throwing in their lot, the Soviet Union by 1978 had supplied so-called economic "aid" to Cuba (including the two major items of international balance of payments and price subsidies for sugar, nickel and petroleum) amounting to \$13.5 billion, \$5 billion of which was in repayable loans. This works out to a debt of more than \$500 per Cuban, which in fact is a yoke on the Cuban people.

For years the Cuban authorities have made the Cuban economy follow the demands of the "socialist international division of labor" and "specialized production" laid down by the Soviet Union. They have one-sidedly developed the production of such export commodities as sugar, nickel and tangerines and oranges. Cuba's foreign trade has been monopolized by the Soviet Union. Under the long-term trade agreement between Cuba and the Soviet Union, more than half of Cuba's sugar export is sold to the Soviet Union, mostly in the form of credit. A part of it is sold to various countries of "CEMA," while the remainder is sold to the capitalist countries. Because of this, the amount of hard currency foreign exchange Cuba can obtain amounts to very little. The food, petroleum, much machinery and equipment and daily commodities it requires can only be imported from the Soviet Union. In 1978 the volume of trade between the Soviet Union and Cuba amounted to 4 billion rubles, accounting for more than 70 percent of the total volume of Cuba's foreign trade and also exceeding the ratio of Cuban-U.S. trade in the total volume of Cuba's foreign trade in 1958.

It is not difficult to see from the abnormal development in the economic structure of Cuba today and its dependency on foreign countries that little substantial change has taken place since the revolution. The difference is that it used to be a U.S. satellite before the revolution, but is now a Soviet one.

Politically, because of Soviet instigation and manipulation, the party and government organs of Cuba have gone through a series of adjustments and reorganizations, and the leadership has gradually fallen into the hands of the pro-Soviet revisionist forces. Cadres who are not energetic in implementing the pro-Soviet revisionist line are either purged, demoted or deprived of actual power.

So-called Soviet "experts" and "advisers" are placed in every important department of the Cuban Government, where they play a decisive role in formulating and implementing various important policies and measures.

Under the direct meddling of the "KGB," the Soviet state security organ, Cuba's Central Intelligence Bureau has been reorganized and has actually become a branch of the "KGB."

The command of the Cuban Army is also in the hands of the Soviet Union. Since the 1970's a lieutenant general has acted as head of the Soviet military "experts" stationed in Cuba. The three military districts are commanded by major generals, and units from the battalion level up are controlled by Soviet military "experts" and "advisers." The Soviet Union has built many modern military bases and installations all over Cuba, including air bases, nuclear submarine bases, ammunition bases, weaponry repair bases and guidance communication centers. The whole of Cuba has been turned into an unsinkable Soviet aircraft carrier in the Western Hemisphere.

According to a report of the Institute for Strategic Studies in London, Cuba currently has a regular army of 159,000 men, besides a paramilitary unit of 13,000 and a militia force of 100,000. All their armaments are supplied by the Soviet Union. The planes flying over Cuba today are MIG fighters, and the vessels patrolling Cuban waters are Soviet-built warships and submarines. Various types of Soviet-made tanks, military vehicles, field pieces and missiles have appeared in Cuban field exercises and parades. According to reports from the West, Soviet military aid to Cuba had already exceeded \$3 billion by 1978. The Cuban Army has become one of the most powerful military forces in Latin America. In terms of men and equipment it has outstripped many member states of the Warsaw Pact.

II

In international activities the Cuban authorities fully follow the dictates of the Soviet Union. They are working in the service of the Soviet global strategy and have become a tool of Soviet social imperialist foreign aggression and expansion.

1. They have sent mercenaries to occupy strategic areas and gain control of strategic passages in parts of Africa and the Middle East for the Soviet Union.

As is known by everyone, for the sake of contending for world hegemony the Soviet Union, with an overbearing and offensive attitude, has stepped up its aggression and expansion in areas of Africa and the Middle East in recent years in an attempt to outflank and encircle Europe. The above-mentioned areas contain rich deposits of petroleum and other vital strategic materials the West relies on for its existence and are the "lifeline of the West" connecting the Atlantic and Indian oceans. To fit in with such Soviet strategic requirements, the Cuban authorities have sent more than 50,000 troops to Africa and the Middle East since 1975. They have carried out armed intervention and occupied Angola,

directly taken part in military conflicts in the Horn of Africa, twice engineered invasions of Zaire with Katanga mercenaries, and actively carried out subversive activities on the east coast of the Red Sea. In planning and organizing such important military actions, senior Soviet and Cuban military leaders have exchanged frequent visits, and the Soviet Union has dispatched a large naval and air force to transport troops and equipment for Cuba. The Soviet Union has stepped up its so-called economic "aid" as repayment for the Cuban lives and blood supplied by the Cuban authorities. According to statistics, Soviet "aid" to Cuba averaged \$1.6 million a day from 1968 to 1974. However, from 1975 to 1978 it averaged higher than \$5 million a day. In this connection, the amount of \$2.8 billion in 1978 averaged \$7.67 million a day.

2. They have played the part of faithful surrogates of the Soviet Union, sabotaged and split the nonaligned movement from within and attempted to change the orientation of the nonaligned movement.

We know the conditions laid down by the nonaligned movement at the very onset for countries that joined it. They are: Do not be aligned with great nations, do not join military blocs, do not let foreign countries build military bases on your territory, and implement the policy of independence on the basis of peaceful coexistence and nonalignment. But does Cuba conform to these conditions?

On the eve of the fourth nonaligned summit held in Algeria in 1973, Brezhnev wrote a highhanded letter to the host country peremptorily forbidding the conference to mention "rich nations" and "poor nations" and "big nations" and "small nations" or to place the Soviet Union on a par with the United States. In their speeches at the meeting the Cuban leaders cooperated actively, following the tone set by the Soviet Union. They divided the member countries of the nonaligned movement into "progressives" and "reactionaries" and sabotaged the unity of the non-aligned movement while simultaneously trying their utmost to peddle the view that "there is only one imperialist power." They disgustingly played up the so-called "friendship" and "aid" of the Soviet Union to the nonaligned countries and said that "rejecting" the Soviet Union and the "friendship" of the "community" would "put one at the mercy of the powerful forces of imperialism."

At the fifth nonaligned summit held in Colombo in 1976, the head of the Cuban delegation, acting on the orders of the Soviet Union, repeated in his speech the hackneyed tune that "there is only one imperialist power," lavished praise on the Soviet "expression of international military support" for Angola and openly advertised the Soviet Union as the "natural ally" of the struggles carried out by the nonaligned countries.

Cuban radio and television stations and various publications this year have been giving great prominence to special articles and information on the nonaligned movement. The main substance of this was to push the

nonaligned movement into alinement with the Soviet Union and forbid any opposition to Soviet hegemonism.

Precisely because of the role of Soviet surrogate played by Cuba in international activities, world opinion has pointed out: "People can no longer regard Cuba as a nonaligned country, because historical facts have proven that it is not one. Actually, Cuba is a country economically, ideologically and militarily dependent on a great nation--the Soviet Union." (LA REPUBLICA of Colombia) "Many countries are becoming increasingly uneasy over Cuba's sabotage of the nonaligned movement. Cuba obviously is a country which is closely linked to the Soviet Union and which also relies on the Soviet Union to supply it with economic support as well as political and military guidance." (THE BUGLE of Liberia) "After the adventurism carried out by Castro in Africa, we can no longer regard Cuba as a nonaligned country. Cuba clearly is 100 percent aligned. Facts have proven that Cuba is now a 'hired thug' of the Kremlin in Africa and in the future will be its 'hired thug' in other continents." (EL UNIVERSAL of Venezuela) The leaders of some nonaligned countries also pointed out: "Cuba has betrayed nonalignment both in substance and in form." It "is the most aligned country among the professed nonaligned countries in the world."

In view of the increasingly rampant activities of Cuba to split and sabotage the nonaligned movement, many nonaligned countries have expressed serious anxiety over the future of the nonaligned movement and have also developed an active struggle to safeguard the principle and essential ideas of the movement. With the support of the overwhelming majority of the member countries, the ministerial conference of the coordination bureau of the nonaligned countries held in Colombo this June reiterated that genuine nonalignment is "an independent and nonbloc global factor in international relations, free from the competition and influence of great nations and blocs," and it called on the member countries of the nonaligned movement to continue their struggle against imperialism, racism, hegemonism and bloc politics. The plot of Cuba and its master the Soviet Union to sabotage the nonaligned movement was again defeated. For the time being they are changing their tactics. On the one hand, Cuba is covertly peddling the theory of "natural ally" and continuing to advocate the alining of the nonaligned countries with the Soviet Union. At the same time it outwardly accepts slogans like "opposing hegemonism," thus sinisterly attempting to tag the label of "hegemonism" on socialist China and to cover up for Soviet hegemonism. The whole world knows that China has consistently held fast to opposition to imperialism and hegemonism, defense of world peace, support of the righteous struggle of the nonaligned countries against imperialism and colonialism and all forms of external domination and hegemonism, and support of the independence and self-determination and nonbloc policy pursued by the non-aligned movement. The vain attempt of Cuba and its master to sow discord in the relationship between the nonaligned countries and China will never succeed.

III

After driving out the U.S. forces of aggression, Cuba economically and politically degenerated into a satellite of Soviet social imperialism and became a "hired thug" for Soviet external aggression and expansion in international activities. What will be the consequences?

From this typical example of Cuba, people can clearly see that the Soviet Union has inherited and developed the legacy of old-line imperialism in its external expansion.

In the past, Cuba's economy developed abnormally under U.S. control. It unilaterally developed sugarcane planting and sugar processing and relied on the United States for foodstuffs and daily commodities. It had no economic independence whatsoever. Today the Soviet Union has replaced the United States in maintaining and developing this abnormal situation in the Cuban economy. It has become the principal buyer of Cuban sugar and the principal supplier of foodstuffs and industrial goods, thus controlling the economic lifeline of Cuba.

In the past, Batista rose to power with the backing of the United States and set up an autocratic regime which was completely subservient to Washington. The Guantanamo naval base built by the United States in Cuba was a direct violation of Cuba's sovereignty and a threat to its security. Today the Soviet Union has made the Cuban authorities fully subservient to Moscow. The military bases built by the Soviet Union in Cuba have turned the whole of Cuba into its outpost in the struggle for hegemony in the Western Hemisphere. This likewise has trampled the sovereignty of Cuba underfoot and seriously threatened its security.

However, Soviet external expansion is even more insidious and deceptive than the means used by the old-line imperialism. The Soviet colonialization of Cuba has been carried out under such banners as "socialist community" and "internationalist aid." Everyone knows that the so-called "community" of the Soviet Union is but a synonym for controlling, oppressing and looting other countries and drawing them into its sphere of influence. Its so-called "internationalist aid" is actually the rope for binding up the sovereignty of other countries. From the incident in which the Soviet Union sent troops to occupy Czechoslovakia, people can clearly see what "community" and "internationalist aid" actually mean. For the sake of repaying this Soviet "internationalist aid," Cuba has already sent more than 50,000 mercenaries to risk their lives for Soviet interests in Africa. In the past the repayment demanded by old-line imperialism for investments and "aid" was only high profits. However, the repayment for Soviet "aid" made by Cuba is the direct supply of the Cuban people's blood and lives.

As a satellite of the Soviet Union, Cuba occupies a unique position and role in the Soviet global strategy.

The old-line imperialists brazenly used military conquests and military intervention to acquire colonies and spheres of influence. Such barbaric acts are even now deeply etched in the minds of the people of the world. The brazen military invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union in 1968 incurred the indignation of the people of the whole world and is still being denounced today. Because of this, the Soviet Union in recent years has more frequently adopted the method of fostering and using surrogates in its infiltration and expansion in the Third World, directly avoiding coming out in the open. Cuba and Vietnam are such surrogates.

It is definitely no accident that the Soviet Union has chosen Cuba as its surrogate. Located in the northwest of the Caribbean, Cuba occupies a very important strategic position. The reputation of "anti-U.S. hero" it enjoyed in history enables Cuba to carry out activities in countries of the Third World. In race and color it has "blood ties" with the countries of Africa, and its infiltration and expansion in Africa will not cause as much resentment among the local people as if the "white skin" Russians personally took action. On the other hand, the Cuban leaders themselves also have a strong desire to become leaders of the Third World. However, their ability is not equal to their ambition, and they need the Soviet Union to be their master and to give them support. Because of this, the Soviet Union and Cuba need each other and are making use of each other. They therefore have partnered for one sordid transaction of disruption and troublemaking after another in the Third World, particularly in Africa.

As a country of the Third World, how can one safeguard one's national independence after driving out the old imperialist and colonialist forces and avoid making the mistake of fending off an evil only to fall prey to another even worse evil and degenerate into a satellite of social imperialism? This typical example of Cuba can also provide us with a profound lesson in this direction.

Generally speaking, countries of the Third World which have newly acquired their independence are faced with the arduous task of safeguarding this national independence and developing their national economy. In resolving this task they will invariably come across various difficulties and even setbacks. So long as they can rely on all the people to closely unite and struggle hard, take the stand of developing and making use of their own natural resources, win sympathy and support from the peoples and friendly nations of the world and develop economic and cultural cooperation and exchange on the basis of mutual benefit, these difficulties can always be gradually overcome.

On the other hand, if they throw in their lot with an imperialist superpower in the manner that the Cuban authorities did after breaking away from the oppression of another imperialist superpower, willingly accept the other's control and manipulation and spare no effort to become its

tool, then in the end they will only cause their country to again lose its national independence and will also find themselves in serious economic difficulties. The people will become more and more dissatisfied, and the country will become more and more isolated in the international arena.

Following the dictates of Soviet social imperialism, Cuba worked to split and disintegrate the nonaligned movement from within and took advantage of certain controversies and conflicts among the Third World countries to fish in troubled waters and loot burning houses. This has informed us by negative example that the Third World countries and the nonaligned movement must not only guard against the external aggression, subversion and sabotage of imperialism and hegemonism, but also be on the alert against the surrogates of imperialism and hegemonism hidden within. In breaking away from the influence of the superpowers and persisting in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, the nonaligned movement plays an important role for the peace and progress of the world. By unremittingly strengthening internal unity, eliminating the sabotage and interference of the superpowers and their surrogates and defeating their conspiracy to split and disintegrate the movement, the nonaligned movement will certainly be able to victoriously advance along the correct orientation.

CSO: 4004

LEADING CADRES SHOULD SET AN EXAMPLE IN CARRYING FORWARD THE FINE WORK
STYLE OF HARD STRUGGLE AND PLAIN LIVING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 2 Sep 79 pp 63-66

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] People are now talking a great deal about the party's work style. They especially have a lot to say about the problem of privileged treatment for certain leading comrades. This is a solemn problem confronting us which should arouse our serious attention.

Solving the problem of privileged treatment for certain leading comrades requires much work. It is important that we energetically promote restoring and carrying forward the party's fine traditions. We must especially carry forward the style of hard struggle and plain living and use the proper proletarian style to conquer the evil trends and practices left over from the old society and revived by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

Hard struggle and plain living are the political features of the proletariat. Our party has a fine tradition of hard struggle and plain living behind it. In an immortalized work, "Poverty," written in prison, Comrade Fang Zhimin wrote this closing line: "Living simply and in poverty is the very reason why our revolutionaries have been able to overcome so many difficulties!" This is a true portrayal of the militant life of Communist Party members of the older generation. In our revolutionary ranks, many comrades are worthy of being called "simple-living" fighters. Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and numerous revolutionary martyrs are models for our whole party in living simply amid hardships. There are many moving stories of their hard struggle and plain living that have been circulated among the people of all nationalities of the country. They have become a tremendous source of strength in stimulating people to overcome difficulties and forge ahead. Being ashamed of seeking enjoyment and taking pride in hard struggle and plain living has been engraved on the minds of the masses of party members and cadres. This is a clear mark that distinguishes our communist cadres

from the lords of the exploiting class. It is an important yardstick with which to judge the moral character of our cadres. The fact that our party has commanded lofty prestige among the Chinese people and the fact that our revolutionary cause has been able to achieve continuous victories under all kinds of difficult conditions is inseparable from such a good tradition and fine style of hard struggle and plain living on the part of our party.

Our party's fine tradition of hard struggle and plain living was seriously disrupted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They were extremely reactionary politically as well as decadent and extravagant in their way of living. They threw their weight around for as long as 10 years, bringing great disaster to our country and corrupting people's thinking in a big way. Since the smashing of the "gang of four" we have basically destroyed the counterrevolutionary political force represented by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The party's fine traditions and its fine work style are being gradually revived and developed. But people's mental scars cannot heal immediately. The remnant poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" still runs deep and wide. In no way should we underestimate its influence. Seeking privileged treatment and other evil practices still exist to a serious extent among a small number of leading cadres. We must take a serious attitude toward these people. They are not honest in performing their official duties and do not put public interests above their own. Instead, they use public office for private gain and place private interests above public ones. They do not offer themselves as the first to suffer and the last to enjoy themselves. Instead, they seek to be the first to enjoy themselves and the last to suffer. They do not mention hard work and the need for doing more work. Instead, they seek a life of leisure and try their best to go in for extravagant living. Once they rise to prominence, they try very hard to seek privileges for their families. Some of them take bribes, bend the law and abuse their power. They even try in every way to exonerate their own sons or daughters who have defied the law. This has made a very bad impression on the masses. In a word, they serve their own interests and those of their relatives by using the power with which they are charged by the people to serve the people. How can such leading cadres lead the masses in a struggle to achieve the four modernizations? To meet the needs of the four modernizations, we should revive and develop as quickly as possible the party's fine tradition of hard struggle and plain living that was disrupted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

Good and bad things always exist side by side in a struggle for development. At any time there is always such a conflict between good and bad. Though the bad style of seeking privileged treatment has existed among certain leading comrades, the present work style of our party, generally speaking, is now basically different from that when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power. It has changed considerably for the better compared with the period shortly after the "gang of four" were smashed. The life style of a great number of leading comrades is good or relatively good. This is what we must take note of.

A certain factory has several thousand workers. More than 800 of them have successively moved into better housing with their families, but the party secretary of the factory still remains in his same old uncomfortable home. The new premises are being built one cluster after another. The party secretary has repeatedly given others priority in assigning housing. Someone said to him: "Many of our workers have moved into new dormitories. How can it be a special privilege for you to move into one?" He answered: "Though my present home has no balcony and no flush toilet, what counts is that it does not leak. It is a structure far better than those we had in the old society, when we had to worry about the roof caving in every time a rainstorm struck!" What a fine ideological style this party secretary has shown in the matter of housing!

A county party secretary of the Zang nationality often says to his wife and children: "Do not seek the least privilege just because I am a county party secretary. We cannot ask to have something that the masses do not have for themselves. We also cannot eat food that the masses cannot get for themselves." He wears an old sheepskin jacket that ordinary nomads used to wear. He contents himself with the roasted barley that the people of the whole county use for food. Some people advise him to get better food and clothing. He says: "So long as all the people have not become well off, I cannot reconcile myself to good food and clothing." He has never sought the least privileged treatment. The masses say that he does not look the least like an "official." How the people admire leading cadres like him!

A basic-level cadre on the financial and trade front has acted successively as manager of a supply and marketing cooperative of a commune, chief of a financial and trade office, head of a food department, secretary at the fishing market and head of a grain bureau. People say that all along he has been placed in "the right trade" handling "beautiful things." However, he has never abused his power. Be it his own friends or relatives, his superiors or old colleagues, he has acted strictly according to the rules and not shown the least favor to others. Some people have laughed at him or blamed him, but he has paid no heed to this. Some others tell him to "be more flexible" and "lenient" so as to "reap the reward of virtue." His answer is: "The party has given me the authority of the job but not the power to make private deals." Who can fail to trust someone in power like him?

In all areas and on all fronts throughout the country there are such good comrades who maintain the fine tradition of faithfully serving public interests and fighting amid hardships. They also can be found among old and middle-aged cadres. They are the first to suffer and the last to enjoy themselves. They always think of others and the masses. These comrades have acted consciously according to the party's demands and traditions under conditions in which our party's work style has been seriously disrupted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." This is what

makes them praiseworthy. They are good examples for the masses of party members to imitate. Their deeds show that, though certain serious problems still exist in our party's work style, its fine traditions and good style cultivated over a long period of revolutionary struggle have taken root among the masses of party members. This party of ours is full of promise. All pessimistic views and ideas of inertia are without foundation. We should not conceal our bad points. We must expose seeking privileged treatment and other evil practices among certain leading cadres. We must make them change by unfolding criticism and self-criticism. More importantly, we must praise our good points. We must give great publicity to the good ideas and good style of leading cadres as a source of inspiration. Everyone must be led to follow what is good, so that it can be promoted and carried forward. Thus, energetically cultivating and promoting the proper work style in conquering bad ones is a good solution to the problem of the party's work style.

Ours is a party that promotes the welfare of the people. It completely serves the interests of the people without serving any purpose of its own. As servants of the people or society's public servants, our party cadres should serve the people unconditionally and wholeheartedly and not conditionally or halfheartedly. Still less should we use the power the people invest in us to serve ourselves. If we use such power to serve our own ends, then we are not the people's servants or society's public servants and will become lords divorced from the people. At the second plenum of the eighth party Central Committee in 1956, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "There are several hundreds of thousands of cadres at and above the county level. The destiny of the state is held in their hands. If they do not do a good job, draw away from the people and refuse to fight amid hardships, then the workers, peasants and students have reason to deny them support." The leading cadres must revive and promote the fine style of fighting amid hardships and get rid of such evil practices as seeking privileged treatment. This is of great significance in maintaining the features of our party as the vanguard of the proletariat and cementing the ties with the masses of people.

King Wang Mengchang of the kingdom of later Shu in the "5-dynasties and 10-kingdoms period" following the Tang dynasty was defeated by Emperor Zhao Kuangyin, founder of the Sung dynasty. The former was very extravagant and even had a bedpan mounted with jewels. Zhao Kuangyin said: "If jewels are used for this purpose, what is the receptable for food? If things are done in this way, doom is inevitable!" What this feudal emperor said is worth serious pondering and is valuable reference material. Why should the masses support our party? Why should they trust and respect our cadres? There is no other reason than that our party and its cadres serve them and promote their welfare. If we do not do so, no matter how we talk, people will find us concerned only with ourselves and will have no need for us. It cannot be denied that some leading cadres who eagerly seek privileged treatment have not found it easy to win the trust of the people. They have done damage to the

party's prestige among the masses. We must note the seriousness of this problem.

Leading cadres have a long history of revolutionary struggle behind them and have done much wholesome work for the party and the people and have made contributions to the revolution. Some of these comrades have now become old and infirm. They deserve better treatment in material terms and better living conditions. This is logical and has the approval of the masses. In no way can we topple large numbers of old cadres and make certain leading ones suffer, as in those days when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild. For their part, leading cadres should impose strict demands on themselves. With their long history of revolutionary struggle, their experience and their awareness of the difficulty of the revolution and the price of victory, they should especially promote the fine style of hard struggle and plain living and set examples to everyone. They cannot forget the past. It is an unshirkable historical duty for leading cadres to lead in fighting amid hardships, reviving and developing as quickly as possible our party's fine traditions and good style disrupted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and setting proper social trends. Old comrades in particular should play an exemplary role in passing on our party's good traditions and good style to our successors.

Calling on leading cadres to promote the fine style of fighting amid hardships and to get rid of evil practices like seeking privileged treatment means that leading cadres at all levels should do so. First of all, leading cadres at higher levels must lead the way. This is because their work style has a direct bearing on the behavior of the entire ranks of cadres. The problems now involving the party's work style have much to do with the failure of some higher-level leading cadres to set strict demands for themselves. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," we have devoted considerable time to discussing the problem of the party's work style. Why has there been no significant progress in solving problems like seeking privileged treatment? The reason is mainly that some higher-level cadres have not been quick in correcting themselves. Confucius said: "One who conducts himself properly has followers of what he practices without imposing an order. One who conducts himself improperly imposes an order of having no followers." There is some truth in what he said. How can one who conducts himself improperly make others conduct themselves properly? People now count on leading cadres at higher levels to play a leading role in reviving and developing the style of hard struggle and plain living. Of course, such a way of thinking is also not right, since it seems that, so long as higher-level cadres cannot solve their problems, others also cannot solve their own problems. Some comrades complain seriously about higher-level cadres seeking privileged treatment while they themselves likewise do so. This is not right! It should be mentioned that while those above are responsible for solving the problems among the middle- and lower-level leading cadres, the latter themselves

cannot pass the buck. Since it is an improper style, why should the latter repeat the same mistake. We should make up our minds to do nothing of the kind. This is possible. In fact, many comrades have successfully maintained a spotless reputation. If leading cadres at all levels can impose strict demands on themselves and take the initiative, our party's work style will improve very quickly.

Our country is now at a great turning point in history. The focus of our work is now the realization of the four modernizations. This is a very arduous struggle. It is basically impossible to accomplish our goal without a contingent of cadres capable of fighting amid hardships. Moreover, the level of development of our productivity is still very low, falling far short of the needs of the people and state. Many problems now confront us. All the problems accumulated over the years with regard to the people's livelihood cannot be solved at once. Under these circumstances, it is especially necessary for leading cadres at all levels to revive and develop the fine style of hard struggle and plain living. Our party's historical experience shows that the tougher the conditions, the greater the need for leading cadres to lead in fighting amid hardships. So long as leading cadres lead in fighting amid hardships, any difficulties can be overcome. Take the 3 years of difficulties, for instance. At that time people had such a hard time that food became a problem. However, the problems were quickly overcome, thanks to the maintenance of a relatively good party style, the sharing of joys and sorrows by leading cadres from the central to the local level, and the serious implementation of a series of correct policies from the party Central Committee. The difficulties now confronting us are those that lie in the way of progress. Moreover, material conditions are now much better than in those days. So long as everyone, up and down, shares the same will in working toward the same goal, we can completely conquer our difficulties and advance triumphantly. The problem is that the current party style has not been restored to what it was before the interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." When the state and the people have difficulties, some leading comrades do not fight amid hardships. Instead, they engage in setting improper trends, trying and even using unscrupulous means to improve their own life. Such comrades have become divorced from the masses. If they do not wake up and continue seeking privileged treatment, the dissatisfaction of the masses will be aroused. As things develop, we will be on dangerous ground.

There is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest. There is no motion without stagnation. An immediate task now is to stop the practice of seeking privileged treatment. Conditions for doing so already exist. It can be said that this evil practice is being attacked by those above and below. As far as those above are concerned, the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng has been very resolute in solving the problem of the party's work style. In his government work report at the second session of the

Fifth NPC, Comrade Hua Guofeng pointed out: "Although we eradicated feudal class rule long ago, malpractices left over mainly from the feudal order, such as the pursuit of privilege, 'backdoor dealings' and suppression of democratic rights, still remain to a considerable extent to this day. These malpractices gravely corrode the healthy organisms of our state departments, impair the flesh-and-blood ties between government and people and dampen the enthusiasm of the masses for socialism. Therefore, we must educate all government personnel in the need to abide by law and discipline. We must warmly commend good people and good deeds, while waging a serious, persistent struggle against malpractices." As far as those below are concerned, the masses of people have raised their voices and put forward very strong demands. Given these two important factors, we need not worry about being unable to stop this evil practice. The question is how to stop it. Simply speaking, everyone simply must not get involved with it any more. Of course, things are not that simple. People always insist on doing so. Therefore, apart from strengthening ideological education, we may adopt the following two measures: First, we must establish and improve the relevant regulations and systems and lay down proper rules concerning the remuneration for leading cadres. This is to say that we must have "laws." Anyone who defies them must be criticized and educated in minor cases; he must be punished according to law in serious cases. Second, we must give full play to democracy and create conditions for strict mass supervision over leading cadres. In a word, we must do everything possible to stop the evil practice of seeking privileged treatment.

Ours is a party that has been tempered and tested in various complicated struggles for over half a century. We can surely get rid of malpractices and revive and develop fine traditions. Leading comrades at all levels should contribute to the rectification of the party's work style.

CSO: 4004

THE ADMIRABLE SPIRIT OF MILITANT MATERIALISM--ON COMRADE ZHANG ZHIXIN'S
WORLD OUTLOOK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 2 Sep 79 pp 67-70

[Article by the Propaganda Department of the Liaoning Provincial CCP
Committee]

[Text] In the past few months, people everywhere have been praising the martyr Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450]. Her glorious deeds of struggling for the truth have deeply inspired the hearts of hundreds of millions of people. Thousands and tens of thousands of people are discussing and contemplating the subject: Comrade Zhang Zhixin was only an ordinary Communist Party member. How could she, in such extremely difficult and complicated situations, maintain a sober head, distinguish clearly between what was right and what was wrong and arrive at correct conclusions concerning the series of major issues which had been confused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four"? How did she come to recognize 10 years ago the problems which we have only come to recognize today? Why is it that she was able to suffer so many insufferable mental and physical tortures, persevere unswervingly in the truth, uphold the awe-inspiring righteousness and refuse to submit even until death? If only we conscientiously study the entire course of struggle which Comrade Zhang Zhixin waged against Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and study her world outlook, we will not find it difficult to reach a correct answer to the above questions.

People will not forget that, during the period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running rampant, our party and state were greatly shaken and were stricken with disaster. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and the others were insufferably arrogant, imperious and despotic. When they said so-and-so was good or bad, then so-and-so would be good or bad; and when they wanted to topple so-and-so, then so-and-so would be toppled. A group of revolutionaries of the older generation who braved untold dangers and performed outstanding merits were toppled. Party organizations at various levels were paralyzed. Manifestations of modern blind worship such as "asking for instructions early in the day," "giving reports later in the day," "dance of loyalty" and "march of quotations"

thrived. In society, factions developed unchecked, armed struggle took place constantly, production came to a standstill and confusion was everywhere.... Why did all these phenomena appear? Toward which direction should our party and state head? These were common questions that were placed before the Chinese people. Comrade Zhang Zhixin made use of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and methodology and followed the spirit of militant materialism in studying and solving these problems.

Lenin points out: "The viewpoint of life and practice should be the first and basic viewpoint of the theory of knowledge." To do things in a practical and realistic manner, to persevere in proceeding from reality and to combine theory with practice form the basic principle of Marxism-Leninism and the cornerstone of the proletarian world outlook. To persevere in the ideology and line of doing things in a practical and realistic manner is to persevere in the dialectical materialist world outlook. This will enable us to unlock the door to the hall of truth. If we run counter to the ideology and line of doing things in a practical and realistic manner, we will fall into the mire of idealism and metaphysics. Comrade Zhang Zhixin sought the truth and persevered in it, and from beginning to end she observed the ideology and line of doing things in a practical and realistic manner. She did not "look to the above alone" and "look to books alone" but proceeded from reality in all matters and insisted that practice was the only criterion for testing the truth. These were the most fundamental and most prominent expressions of Comrade Zhang Zhixin in persevering in the dialectical materialist world outlook and were the source of her wisdom and strength.

In observing and analyzing a problem, Comrade Zhang Zhixin was not affected by the power and influence and will of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Rather, she took facts as her basis and adopted the attitude of doing things in a practical and realistic manner in examining their words and actions. During the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" seized the opportunity to climb to high positions and appeared to be the unusually lucky ones. They wore the laurel wreaths of "successors," "close comrades-in-arms" and "standard bearers," waved the banner of revolution, usurped power and made arbitrary decisions, committed all kinds of outrages and exercised cruel feudal fascist dictatorship. Whoever offended them was committing treason and heresy, would be accused of committing "the crime of assault" and would be swamped. Comrade Zhang Zhixin was not intimidated by the high and influential positions of this gang of careerists and conspirators and would not surrender to their counterrevolutionary law and discipline. She expressed her extreme indignation toward the counterrevolutionary action of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in wantonly negating the glorious revolutionary practice of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation; she said: "I cannot believe that there are so many bad people," and "historical facts cannot be altered by these general abstract conclusions." She did not approve of inserting in the party constitution the statement that Lin Biao was the natural successor; she felt that "this is not a good way

of doing things," that "whoever the successor will be should not come about in such a manner but should come about naturally" and that this method of arbitrarily setting up Lin Biao's prestige violated the basic principle of Marxism-Leninism. She clearly indicated that "I do not have much faith in Lin Biao." She felt extremely indignant toward the counterrevolutionary method of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing in totally repudiating the revolutionary literature and art in the 17 years; she felt that "such an attitude is not materialist oriented." She said: "Her (Jiang Qing) evaluation of some 100 movies since the founding of the nation reflects her attitude of negating everything." She questioned: "In this way, only several model theatrical works remain behind, and only songs of quotations are sung. Will not the literature and art of the motherland become too exhausted and monotonous?" She felt repulsed by Jiang Qing's shameless act of styling herself as the standard bearer in the revolution in literature and art, and she publicly expressed her "doubts about Jiang Qing"; she pointed out on many occasions: "Have we investigated Jiang Qing to find out what she did historically?" "This one is a traitor and that one a secret agent; what about herself?" and "Why can we not make suggestions to Jiang Qing? Why are we suppressed in this manner?" Engels says: "To judge a person, we of course should not look at his statements but at his actions; not at what he claims to be but at what he actually is." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 5, pp 94-95) Comrade Zhang Zhixin precisely persevered in such an ideology and line of proceeding from reality in repeatedly studying and analyzing the words and actions of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. From the succession of acts by which they brought calamity to the country and people, she saw through their reactionary essence as careerists and conspirators.

In observing and analyzing a problem, Comrade Zhang Zhixin did not adopt the attitude of "book worship." Rather, she resolutely believed in the basic principle of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, in the authority of the revolutionary practice of hundreds of millions of people, and she refused to acknowledge the prohibited zones, no matter who set them up. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were a group of counterrevolutionary doubledealers hiding behind the cloak of Marxism-Leninism. Under the guise of "holding high" and "following closely," they deceived the world and hoodwinked the masses with the most revolutionary phrases, distorted and castrated the wholesome system of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and manufactured modern blind worship and new obscurantism. Whoever expressed an objection would be accused of having violated "imperial decrees" and would be labeled with "opposing Chairman Mao" and "opposing Mao Zedong Thought." Comrade Zhang Zhixin saw through and penetratingly exposed the schemes and intrigues of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in waving red flags to oppose the Red Flag. She persevered in adopting the viewpoint of historical materialism in treating the relationship between the leader and the masses of people. She ardently loved the people, loved the party and loved our leader Comrade Mao Zedong, and she fully affirmed the great revolutionary deeds of Comrade Mao Zedong. She said: "In 1935,

after the Zunyi meeting, Chairman Mao's leading position within the party was established. The domination for the third time by the 'left' line in the party Central Committee was ended, and the party was rescued at the most critical moment. The meritorious deeds of Chairman Mao in the historical development of the party cannot be negated," and Mao Zedong Thought was the "crystallization of the collective wisdom of the party." At the same time, she felt that to demand that a revolutionary leader be free from shortcomings and faults was not in conformity with the Marxist attitude. As for the manifestations of modern blind worship such as "three loyalties" and "four boundless" which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" indulged in, she felt that they violated the basic principle of Marxism-Leninism and the law of historical development, that these were attempts to use Chairman Mao's prestige as a pretext to "score some achievements" and to erect Chairman Mao's prestige in name while setting themselves up in reality. She said: "Whether one is loyal to Chairman Mao depends primarily on whether one recognizes the truth; and if one does not, then it is no use trying to indulge in formality." Regarding the "theory of reaching the pinnacle" which Lin Biao advocated, she hit the nail on the head by saying: "When we say 'pinnacle,' does it mean we are at the top already? Do we then no longer have to develop?" "Lin Biao says that one statement of the chairman is worth ten thousand other statements and that one should implement the chairman's instructions whether or not one understands them. Such a situation will not last forever. If this persists, the situation will become dreadful to contemplate." It was with such a scientific attitude of historical materialism that Comrade Zhang Zhixin exposed the counterrevolutionary real feature of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in pursuing their selfish ends under the pretext of holding high.

In observing and analyzing a problem, Comrade Zhang Zhixin would not be affected by the "wind." She was not hoodwinked by the frightening rumors and slanders of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and was also never coerced by the menacing tide of factionalism. Rather, she respected history, respected facts, considered problems independently and, by analyzing and studying actual materials, drew correct conclusions. At the early stage of the Cultural Revolution, out of his need to usurp party and state power, counterrevolutionary careerist Lin Biao vehemently lectured on the "doctrine of a political coup" and frantically shouted that "political coup has become a fashion," "some people may be up to some mischief, and they are already up to some mischief," and "if they want to kill us, we will suppress them." Employing the Marxist method of class analysis, Comrade Zhang Zhixin studied the historical facts and actual situation and concluded that Lin Biao's clamor about "some people wanting to engage in a political coup" was a monstrous lie that was based on no facts whatsoever and that his criminal aim was to topple the revolutionaries of the older generation. She said: "I do not believe that objectively there still exists the practical problem of a political coup, and I feel that there is not sufficient evidence"; "in analyzing a situation, Marxists should proceed not from possibility but from reality. In

face of today's reality, it is really absurd to disregard facts and talk only of possibility." As regards the accusations which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" framed up against the revolutionaries of the older generation, she dealt her severe refutation according to historical facts. She said: "Whoever respects history will not deny that we cannot regard as counterrevolutionaries those 'counterrevolutionary doubledealers' who, in the historical stage of the agrarian revolution, the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation which lasted for 10 years, did not do one bad thing!" Comrade Zhang Zhixin's Marxist-Leninist attitude of not bending to the wind was like a majestic and forceful giant tree, was not like the small leaning grass on the two sides of the road. How admirable this was!

In observing and analyzing a problem, Comrade Zhang Zhixin persevered not only in materialism but also in the dialectical method. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" regarded idealism and metaphysics as their spiritual weapons in vehemently engaging in feudal fascist dictatorship, whipped up a reactionary trend of thought in negating everything and overthrowing everything, and regarded as their direct target of assault the large group of long-tested revolutionary veteran cadres of our party and state. How, indeed, should we evaluate the merits and demerits and rights and wrongs of the revolutionary veteran cadres? How should we treat those extremely reactionary phenomena of toppling everything? On this major issue, Comrade Zhang Zhixin did not follow the tide or echo the views of other people. Rather, she conscientiously observed and studied the history of the Chinese revolution; analyzed in a dialectical manner the relationships between essence and appearance, the essentials and the nonessentials, the parts and the whole, merits and demerits and rights and wrongs; and pungently exposed the despicable means of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in adopting metaphysics and pragmatism in framing up charges against the revolutionary veteran cadres. She said: The Marxist dialectical method 'does not permit the isolated, which is one-sided and distorted, observation and study of a thing. We can understand how objective reality is violated as a result of wrong methodology. But if pragmatism results from political demand, then the consequence will reveal that one has already lost the truth.' With this, she hit the nail on the head and exposed the trick of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in adopting pragmatism for their counterrevolutionary purpose of usurping party and state power. In refuting those modern "Zhou Xing and Lai Junchen" elements who specialized in straightening people out, she alluded to Lenin's words, which said: "In respect to the phenomenon in society, no method is more popular and more untenable than the careless extraction of individual facts and the employment of actual examples, which nevertheless are meaningless or play a totally negative role. This is because, under specific historical conditions, every matter has its individual circumstance. If we grasp the facts by proceeding from the sum total of these facts and from the relationships of these facts, then these facts not only 'speak louder than words' but become absolute proofs. If we do not grasp the facts in their sum total and in their relationships to one

another, but pick them out fragmentarily and casually, then facts can only be a game, or not even a game." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 23, p 279) It was when the sound of "toppling" was most clamorous that she spoke out from a sense of justice, passionately eulogized the meritorious deeds of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, and cried out against the injustice done to Comrades Zhu De, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Peng Dehuai, Liu Bocheng, He Long, Chen Yi, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen, Tao Zhu, Peng Zhen, Tan Zhenlin and Luo Ruiqing. To counter the method adopted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in wantonly framing up charges against these veteran revolutionaries and vilifying them as "veteran rightists," "traitors," "bourgeois agents" and "counterrevolutionary doubledealers," she indignantly wrote: "These people are all a group of peculiar traitors, peculiar bourgeois agents and peculiar counterrevolutionary doubledealers; the line they implement is also a peculiar bourgeois reactionary line; what this group of peculiar figures forms is also a peculiar bourgeois headquarters; the time this headquarters was formed is a peculiar historical time, a peculiar time which is difficult to be fixed; and the content of the conspiratorial activities of this line on the question of usurping the army is a totally elusive and peculiar content. But heaven knows how history can brook the formation of such 'peculiarities,' which are nobody's business." How profound a revelation this was and how biting the sarcasm! In Comrade Zhang Zhixin, the Marxist dialectical method displayed its splendor in revolution and criticism.

By conducting profound analysis and criticism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," Comrade Zhang Zhixin recognized that what they promoted was an extreme left line and what they engaged in was a counterrevolutionary activity. This was a leap which she made in employing the dialectical materialist world outlook in observing the situation. Just as thousands and tens of thousands of heroes who devoted their lives to the people's cause were worried about their country and their people at critical moments in history, so Comrade Zhang Zhixin, in the angry waves of the Cultural Revolution, cared not about individual future and glory or shame, nor about the gains and losses of small groups. Rather, she cared about the future and destiny of the party and state, about the safety or danger and survival or extinction of the race and its people. Precisely because her heart and the people's hearts were bound up with one another and because her thinking and struggle represented and reflected the people's interests, wishes and demands, she therefore dared to publicly wage struggles against the extreme left line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." She held that whether a line was correct depended on whether it reflected and represented the basic interest of the masses of people and whether it won the support of the broad masses of people. She said that this extreme left line "accompanied an unusual form of sectarianism and personal attacks in the manner of bourgeois clans, relied on the form of the mass movement, the method of dictatorship of the masses and the ambition of launching decisive battles, and carried out cruel struggles and dealt merciless blows on an unprecedented scale"; that "it undermined

the party's unity and the country's unification; confused the two different types of contradictions; weakened the party's leadership; and affected the normal process of the socialist revolution and construction." How profound and how in keeping with the actual situation was Comrade Zhang Zhixin's analysis of the characteristics and harm of the extreme left line! She also objectively observed and studied the conditions of existence and trend of development of this extreme left line and arrived at the following prediction: "This erroneous line has developed to such a stage that it is difficult to overcome it by ordinary methods; it has developed to such a serious extent that it is difficult to overcome it in a short period of time.... Thus, if we are to change and correct this erroneous line, we can only do so through the method of class autocracy and class dictatorship." The progress of history was just as she had predicted. In October 1976 the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng adopted a resolute measure to shatter with one stroke the "gang of four" and ended the criminal rule of this extreme left line. A new page was turned in the history of China!

Comrade Zhang Zhixin's world outlook was formed through a process of assiduous study and self-reform. The extended education of the party, the assistance of comrades and the fine influence of the family were favorable conditions for the formation of her correct world outlook. But her own subjective effort was most important of all. Comrade Zhang Zhixin attached great importance to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. During the extended period from study in school to participation in work, she actively studied theory and rather systematically grasped the fundamental theoretical knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. She also consciously combined the study of theory with the reform of ideology and continued to overcome her own petty bourgeois ideology. In the course of combining theory with practice, Comrade Zhang Zhixin gradually grasped the standpoint, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism and erected the world outlook of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. In particular, we should be able to see that, in the Cultural Revolution, in order to meet the needs of the complicated and fierce struggle, Comrade Zhang Zhixin restudied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with great eagerness, applied this principle of practice as the only criterion for testing the truth in her consideration of the affairs of party and state, and enabled her ideology to reach a new level. She also solved some important questions concerning her philosophy of life, questions of family, children, freedom, happiness, life and death that concerned the individual interest, thereby enabling her to abandon everything and even give up her own life at a moment of crisis in persevering in the truth. She said: "For a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party member, it is right and proper to persevere in the revolutionary stand, oppose revisionism and struggle against errors," and "how can one be regarded as a Communist Party member if one does not struggle for the truth and for defense of the party's interests, and if one does not go after one's mistakes and bring about changes quickly!"

Learn from the heroic deeds of martyr Zhang Zhixin, recognize clearly the extreme importance of transforming our world outlook, and then, like Comrade Zhang Zhixin, erect the world outlook of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. These are of very great significance to the grand cause of realizing the four modernizations. The realization of the four modernizations is not only a great and complicated economic task but also a widespread and profound social revolution. To fulfill this great cause, we must combine the universal principle of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the specific practice of modernized socialist construction and use the standpoint, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to study new situations and solve new problems. Each and every one of our comrades should recognize clearly the heavy historical responsibility which he or she shoulders and should, like Comrade Zhang Zhixin, attach importance to the study of theories, conscientiously transform himself or herself, and strive hard to build a powerful socialist country. We trust that Chinese Communist Party members who have grasped the world outlook of dialectical materialism and historical materialism will definitely be able to unite the people of the whole country to shoulder the great historical mission. Just as Engels said: Only by bringing into further play our materialist thesis and apply it to the modern age will a great, and the greatest, revolutionary prospect of all ages appear immediately before us.

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THE PRINCIPLE OF MEASURING PENALTY IN CHINA'S CRIMINAL LAW

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[Article by Luo Ping [5012 1627]]

[Text] The "Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China" (abbreviated as the "Criminal Law" in the following), which our country's people have long awaited, was passed at the second session of the Fifth National People's Congress and will come into force on 1 January 1980. Its promulgation and execution will be of great significance in strengthening socialist democracy and the socialist legal system and in guaranteeing the smooth progress of the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Measurement of penalty is the use of penalty as a legal weapon in struggling against criminal elements. The correct implementation of the principle of measurement of penalty in the "Criminal Law" is an important guarantee in dealing blows to crime and in protecting the people. Article 57 of the "Criminal Law" stipulates that "the decision as to the penalty for criminal elements should be based on the facts, the nature and the course of events of a crime and the extent of harm it brings to society and should accord with the relevant stipulations of this law." Judging from the principle and spirit stipulated in the "Criminal Law," we feel that our country's measurement of penalty has primarily realized the four following principles.

I. The Practical and Realistic Principle of Taking the Facts of a Crime as the Basis

The practical and realistic principle of taking the facts of a crime as the basis is the basic premise for measuring penalty and is also the summary of the experience of our country's judicial work. This principle embodies two aspects: One is to judge according to facts as to whether the act of the litigant is a criminal offense; the other is to decide, according to the facts of a crime, how to investigate and affix criminal responsibility.

Grasping practical and reliable evidence of a crime and clarifying all the facts of a crime are the objective basis of the dialectical materialist and historical materialist thinking on measuring penalty. In trying a criminal case, the people's court must first of all practically and realistically clarify the facts of a crime. This primarily involves clarifying such aspects as the course of events of a crime, the nature of a crime and the harm a crime brings to society. That is to say, the investigating and judicial personnel should carry out investigations and study, possess sufficient materials and carry out analysis and judgment by eliminating the false and retaining the true before they arrive at a correct conclusion. This is what is meant by practically and realistically clarifying all the facts of a crime.

The subjective and idealistic thinking of measuring a penalty handed down by all the rulers of the exploiting class in history is the grave enemy of our work of measuring penalty. The method of indictment of the slave-owning society (such as ancient Babylon and Athens) and of the feudal states (such as the Franks, France and England) stipulates that, in order to obtain evidence of a crime, one can adopt extremely superstitious or cruel means, such as oaths, fortune telling, extortion of a confession, judicial duel and judgment by the gods (including throwing people into the river and into boiling water and burning people with a hot iron). The modern bourgeoisie, on the other hand, adopt the theory of formal evidence in their trials and, in addition, use barbarous methods of destroying the accused, such as extortion of confessions by torture in order to obtain evidence and then letting the judge determine a case according to the principle of "testimony of the heart." All this is diametrically opposed to our practical and realistic principle of taking the facts of a crime as the basis. But, because the subjective and idealist viewpoint of measuring a penalty and the style of administering justice of the slave-owning, feudal and bourgeois classes have existed in human history for several thousand years, their influence still remains to some extent among some working personnel of the state organs, among some personnel in judicial work and among a section of the masses of people. Consequently, in the measurement of penalty, sometimes one may violate the practical and realistic principle of taking the facts of a crime as the basis, undermine the socialist legal system and obstruct the correct procedure of the work of administering justice in criminal affairs.

Since the nation's founding, in our work of administering justice, the remnant poison of the idealist thinking and style is manifested primarily in subjective one-sidedness and prejudice. The latter are manifested concretely in the following:

1. Prejudice against the accused in a criminal case. Some judicial personnel would subjectively maintain *prima facie* that "The accused in a civil case is in most cases unreasonable, and the accused in a criminal case is in most cases guilty." Dominated by such erroneous prejudice,

when the accused defends himself against the indictment made by others, these personnel will say that he is "attempting to deny the charges by means of sophistry" and is "not being frank." They will not investigate the case or cross-examine the evidence any further but will give their verdict perfunctorily. This will easily lead to misjudged cases and unjust cases.

2. Readily believing in confessions and paying no attention to evidence. In trying a case, some judicial personnel will affirm that the evidence is "conclusive" as long as they feel that the confession of the accused is "roughly" identical to the charges brought against him, and they will therefore not carry out cross-examinations, appraise the evidence conscientiously or collect further evidence, but will perfunctorily pass sentence and measure penalties accordingly. This obviously is not correct. Confessions should be regarded as the least important evidence. Until proven by facts, a confession has no strength as evidence and thus cannot be regarded as the basis for a conviction. Trial practice proves that to believe readily in confessions not only easily creates misjudged cases but, once the accused retracts his testimony, compels the court to reopen a case, thereby falling victim to passivity in its work. Thus, we must persevere in the correct principle of "attaching importance to evidence and not believing readily in confessions" and must resolutely oppose the viewpoint of Peter I in regarding confessions as "the king of evidence."*

3. One-sidedly emphasizing the acceptance of opinions of the prosecuting organ and the materials of the people's accusation as the bases for convicting a person and measuring a penalty. This is also an erroneous thinking based on prejudice. Some of our judicial personnel blindly and readily believe in the materials of accusation and, without further proof and analysis, conclude a case perfunctorily. This will result in convicting a person wrongly or even in being fooled by the enemies or other bad elements (for instance, some counterrevolutionary elements, harboring resentment, frame up charges against others; or other bad elements fabricate facts and evidence, and so on and so forth). As a result, the innocent will be wronged and the people will be harmed. The administration of justice by our courts must not be dependent on the opinions cited in the indictment of the procuratorial organs. In discussing the functions of a procuratorial organ, Lenin emphatically points out: "The only authority of the chief procurator is to submit the case for court decision." ("On 'Dual' Leadership and the Legal System," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 326) The indictment of the procuratorial organ can only be used for reference in the trial and should not have any binding force. At the same time, as regards the materials of accusation by any individual, one should not be prejudiced in first affirming a case but should carry out investigations and study in order to verify the facts.

*The military regulations of Peter I stipulated: "As long as the person himself confesses his crime, there is no need for further evidence. For the person's own confessions are the best of evidence."

4. Taking the background and history of the accused as the basis for conviction and measurement of penalty. The background and history of the accused can be used for reference in studying the motives of a crime, but they cannot be used as the basis for conviction and measurement of penalty. This is because, whether a person has committed a crime is determined by whether he has committed an offense and not by his background and history. But in our administration of justice, some people wrongly regard the general criminal offenses of those accused who come from the reactionary class and have a reactionary history as counterrevolutionary crimes and handle them accordingly; or, as long as these people come from a reactionary class and have a reactionary history, then, regardless of whether the facts of the accusation are correct and regardless of the nature of these facts, they will blindly assert that these people committed the crimes and definitely committed them with a counterrevolutionary purpose. When handling those people whose past counterrevolutionary offenses have already been dealt with and who have now committed only a general misdemeanor, they will settle old accounts with these people, maintain that they have committed counterrevolutionary crimes, exaggerate their crimes and impose heavy penalties accordingly. All these attitudes are obviously wrong.

During the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" promoted the feudal fascist dictatorship. In criminal law they concentratedly inherited the mantle of the slave-owning, feudal and monopoly bourgeois classes and viciously developed the subjective and idealist viewpoint in measuring penalty. They reversed the relationship between the enemy and ourselves and toppled the broad ranks of revolutionary veteran cadres as though they were "capitalist roaders." They used gangs as the lines of demarcation and, going to one extreme, expanded and developed opposition to the gang as a crime. Then, going to another extreme, they developed the doctrine of heavy penalty (retaliation in the form of penalty) of the "Draconian law" of the reactionary ruling class. In dealing with Communist Party members and the revolutionary masses, they created something out of nothing, framed up charges and false evidence, wantonly made false charges against others, fabricated all kinds of unwarranted charges and manufactured a great many unjust, false and misjudged cases. The killing of martyr Zhang Zhixin was the most typical and most prominent case. After "convicting" Communist Party members and representatives of the revolutionary masses, they unscrupulously employed illegal means to extort confessions and indiscriminately resorted to cruel torture. In a certain city in Jiangsu, a trusted follower of the "gang of four" brought about a period of white terror. During that period, over 100 cases of inhuman cruel torture were inflicted upon the revolutionary veteran cadres! Lin Biao and the "gang of four" thoroughly destroyed the practical and realistic principle of taking facts as the basis of our country's socialist criminal law! In their political field of vision, objective grounds for conviction and measurement of penalty were all lost! Their extreme left line affected and poisoned a group of state working personnel (including judicial personnel and public security

and procuratorial personnel). Thus, we must further expose and criticize, in theory, in line and in the thinking of criminal law, the extreme left line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and eradicate its pernicious influence. We must conscientiously sum up the experiences and lessons of the unjust, false and misjudged cases, overcome the thinking of rather "left" than right, overcome the thinking that it is better to say less although one knows that something is wrong and to be worldly wise and play safe, and overcome the thinking of prejudice, crudeness and carelessness. We must proceed from reality, do things in a practical and realistic manner and thoroughly clarify the facts of a crime. Only in this way can we correctly and fully implement the principle of measurement of penalty in the "Criminal Law" in our administration of justice over criminal affairs, raise the level of handling a case in investigation work and in the administration of justice over criminal affairs and perfect the socialist legal system.

II. The Principle of the Socialist Legal System With Criminal Law as the Criterion

"Act according to the law" was originally a progressive slogan put forth in the bourgeois revolutionary period to oppose feudal rights. But the bourgeoisie never truly and thoroughly implemented it. Since the founding of our nation, in order to safeguard the smooth progress of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, the people's government has issued some individual criminal laws and decrees. These became the legal basis for the administration of justice over criminal cases at the time. Now, with the promulgation of our country's "Criminal Law," we have a comparatively more principled and all-round criminal law which will provide the legal criterion for the correct measurement of penalty.

The measurement of penalty is an extremely serious, complicated and meticulous task for the people's court. The principle of taking criminal law as the criterion asks that, in determining the appropriate penalties according to the facts of a crime and according to the law, we pay attention to the following points:

1. The prerequisite for the correct measurement of penalty is to strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and correctly define the charge. A crime should be distinguished by its nature. There are counterrevolutionary crimes and other criminal offenses; these are two different types of crimes. The nature of a counterrevolutionary crime involves a contradiction between the enemy and ourselves and is a crime that aims at overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system and at endangering the People's Republic of China. Thus, in respect to the extent of harm to society, the object of the infringement and the seriousness of the offense, a counterrevolutionary crime is poles apart from other criminal offenses. We should definitely not be permitted to treat the contradiction among the people as a contradiction between the enemy and ourselves.

In correctly handling a criminal case, besides strictly distinguishing between the two different types of contradictions, we must also strictly separate scientifically the various objects of infringement by specific crimes, such as the crime of endangering public security, the crime of undermining the order of the socialist economy, the crime of violating the personal and democratic rights of citizens, the crime of property encroachment, the crime of jeopardizing the order of social management, the crime of jeopardizing marriage and families and the crime of dereliction of duty. At the same time, we must also further distinguish, in accordance with the facts of specific crimes, between the various natures and types of crimes among the other criminal offenses. Among the other criminal offenses besides counterrevolutionary crimes, there still exists the distinction between felony involving the contradiction between the enemy and ourselves and general criminal offenses involving the contradiction among the people. Such a distinction is concretely embodied in the specific provisions of the "Criminal Law." In addition, general unpremeditated crimes by nature belong to crimes committed among the people. They not only are different in basic principle not only from premeditated crimes of a counterrevolutionary nature, but also from premeditated crimes among the general criminal offenses. We definitely should not treat unpremeditated crimes as premeditated crimes.

2. We must measure penalty according to the principle set down by law regarding criminal responsibility. For instance, section 2 of chapter 2 of the "Criminal Law" stipulates the principle of measuring penalty according to the different situations of premeditated crimes. Section 3 stipulates the principle of penalty for the principal and accessories in a crime, as well as for those who are threatened or cajoled into participating in a crime or those who instigate others into committing a crime. In all these cases, distinctions should be made in measuring penalty according to the different situations of the criminals and the crimes. In trying a criminal case, when we are passing a specific sentence according to the relevant articles in the specific provisions, we must also consider the general provisions in determining a penalty.

3. We must impose appropriate penalties within the scope of the penal law. Promulgation of the "Criminal Law" has established the basis of "having laws to go by" for conviction and measurement of penalty. It has also established the prerequisite that "laws must be observed." The "Criminal Law" stipulates the principle of passing sentence according to the "penal law." To correctly implement this principle, we must skillfully grasp the principle and spirit stipulated by the general provisions of the "Criminal Law," follow the relevant articles in the specific provisions of the "Criminal Law" and carry out all-round evaluation according to the extent of harm done by the crime to society as well as the course of the crime, the form of the crime and other conditions of the criminal--motive and purpose of the crime, etc.--in order to impose appropriate penalties within the scope of the penal law. In the "Criminal Law" there is a rule in the penal law stating the principal

and supplementary penalties within the penal law as well as the mitigation of penalties under the penal law. But there are no rules for increasing a penalty. Furthermore, in the specific provisions there are very few articles concerning capital punishment, all of which are extremely strictly defined. All this shows how the "Criminal Law" reflects the superiority of the socialist system and how it embodies the power and confidence of the socialist country in reforming the criminal.

The principle of using criminal law as the criterion also asks that, in the activity of measuring penalty, the people's court administer justice according to the judicial system and procedures stated by the law. This is an important compulsory aspect of our country's judicial system. Since the beginning of this year, our country has successively formulated and promulgated a series of organic laws and procedural laws, including the "PRC rules for arrest and detention," the "PRC law of criminal procedure," the "PRC organic law of the people's court" and the "PRC organic law of the people's procuratorates." They define the correct systems and principles for our country's people's judicial work. These systems and principles directly guarantee that the entire process of the administration of justice can be implemented according to correct procedural and organic principles. Thus, conditions have been created for judicial work in such tasks as taking facts as the basis, convicting a person and measuring a penalty according to the law, preventing indiscriminate arrests and indiscriminate sentences, preventing false charges and false evidence and the extortion of confessions by torture, and avoiding unjust, false and misjudged cases, thereby guaranteeing correct implementation of the "Criminal Law."

Nevertheless, as a result of the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the phenomenon of not abiding by the legal system and procedures in trying criminal cases was very serious at the time. Some people simply did not act according to legal procedures, indiscriminately arrested and detained others and wantonly infringed upon the personal and democratic rights of cadres and the masses and falsely accused the innocent. They totally disregarded the past effective principle of "attaching importance to evidence, attaching importance to investigations and study and not believing readily in confessions," made groundless accusations and arbitrarily drew inferences. Some judicial personnel disregarded law and discipline and, as though it mattered little whether a person was sentenced to jail for a few years, blindly passed sentence on others. Some who sent out letters to investigate a case would pass sentence before receiving replies. Some unreasonably filed the appeal of the accused and did not even submit it to the court, thereby violating the right of the litigant to make appeals. Thus, we must thoroughly eradicate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," strengthen the concept of the legal system, straighten out our ideology and line and style of work, correctly implement the "Criminal Law" and act strictly in accordance with organizational and indictment procedures in the administration of justice.

III. Implement the Principle of Convicting a Person and Measuring Penalty on an Individual Basis, Imposing Appropriate Penalties and Strictly Forbidding Involvement of Others in a Criminal Case

An important characteristic of the "Criminal Law" is that of carrying out specific analysis of the specific cases and the specific accused and persevering in the correct principle of convicting a person and measuring a penalty on an individual basis. It is basically different from the measurement of penalty according to "legal precedents" and "interpreting laws" followed by the bourgeoisie and old China. The "legal precedents" of the British and American bourgeoisie and such legal precedents as the "Collection of Main Ideas in the Legal Precedents of the Big Law Court" and the "Full Text of the Interpreting Laws of the Big Law Court" of the northern warlord government of old China and the "Main Ideas in the Legal Precedents of the Supreme Court" of the Guomindang reactionary government are not only different legal systems in spirit and essence, but also methods of administering justice which are basically different from our principle of convicting a person and measuring a penalty on an individual basis. In terms of the spirit of the legal system, the legal precedents of the British and American bourgeoisie and of old China constitute the judicial principles of administering justice and are stipulated according to the criminal law of the landlord and bourgeois classes and serve these ruling classes. They are essentially reactionary and oppose the people. Our principle of measuring penalty, which demands conviction and measurement of penalty on an individual basis, is a judicial principle of administering justice that is defined by our country's socialist criminal law and that serves the working class and the entire laboring class. As for the method of administering justice, that of the British and American bourgeoisie and of old China, which takes legal precedent as its guidance, embodies the consistent, subjective and idealist tradition of the landlord and bourgeois classes in treating people in a perfunctory manner. Basing themselves on the several types of crime included in the criminal law, judicial personnel divide each category of crime into several more specific categories of crime and select model legal precedents from each specific category to be used as guidance in the work of administering justice. This is a metaphysical method of administering justice which induces judicial personnel to make use of simple analogies in specific cases. No matter how specific and meticulous the legal precedents they cite, in an extremely complicated criminal case these precedents are, after all, far from complete. The method of comparing with legal precedents in the administration of justice imposes restrictions on judicial personnel in measuring a penalty and is an attempt to make it convenient for them to arbitrarily put, without much effort, readymade frames on sporadic concrete cases. This is an unscientific method that runs counter to dialectical materialism. Our method of convicting a person and measuring a penalty on an individual basis embodies the tradition of proceeding from reality and acting in the practical and realistic manner of the working class. In handling any criminal case, our judicial personnel must sufficiently consider the specific characteristics of each

case and study the various aspects and situations of each criminal. Then they will impose appropriate penalties according to the law and to the extent of the criminal's offense. We must carry out individual evaluation of specific criminal offenses of specific criminals. Only in this manner can we draw a correct conclusion as to how to convict a person and measure a penalty.

Conviction and measurement of penalty on an individual basis also embodies the principle of having the criminal shoulder individual responsibility for his crime and is opposed to involving the innocent in a criminal case. Our country's feudal rulers for a long time employed the extremely reactionary method of involving others in a criminal case. Qin Shi Huang's criminal law stipulated that one man's crime was to be paid by three tribes, and the imprisonment of one household would lead to the imprisonment of its neighbors. Liu Bang of the Han dynasty revised the Nine-Chapter Laws, continued to use the laws of the Qin dynasty and had one rule about "exterminating three tribes." Such feudal criminal laws as "executing the whole family" and "destroying the roots and the branches," recorded in Chinese history, all showed that one man's crime would involve the innocent on a broad scale. From eliminating one tribe to eliminating three, nine and ten tribes--this is indeed horrifying! In the past, in order to "exterminate the communists," the Guomindang reactionaries also adopted the feudal method of involving others, practiced the 'method of involving the whole family' and vehemently engaged in involving and jailing the whole family. During the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" inherited the counterrevolutionary mantle of Qin Shi Huang, the feudal emperors of the late Qing dynasty and the Guomindang reactionaries and, with unwarranted charges, framed up accusations against large groups of revolutionary cadres and the broad masses. Not only were individuals persecuted, but the feudal method of involving others was carried out on a broad scale, involving parents, spouse, brothers and sisters, children and even relatives and friends of the falsely accused. Sometimes, even colleagues, whose only contacts were in work in general, and neighbors were involved. The strangeness of the slander and the breadth of the involvement had indeed rarely been seen before. The principle of the socialist legal system of persevering in holding the individual responsible for a crime pervades the "Criminal Law." It is an important ideological weapon in further exposing and criticizing the cruel measures of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and is another lively manifestation of the spirit of our country's socialist legal system.

IV. The Principle of Equality in Implementing Conviction and Measurement of Penalty in the Criminal Law

The principle of equality in the measurement of penalty means applying the principle of guaranteeing equality for all before the law to the state's administration of justice over criminal affairs. All citizens are absolutely equal before the criminal law. Here we must persevere in

the following: "Laws must be observed," "law enforcement must be strict" and "lawbreakers must be dealt with." In the administration of justice over criminal affairs, the criterion for measuring the penalty of a criminal is determined by the extent of harm to society caused by the nature of the crime and the criminal offense itself, as well as by the extent of the offense. It is not determined by whether his class component is good or bad, whether his years of revolutionary experience are long or short or whether his work position is high or low. Here the principle is: No matter who he is, as long as he commits a crime, he will be convicted according to the criminal law. We oppose special privileges that are outside and above the law.

The principle of measuring a penalty applied by all rulers of the exploiting class in history is in contrast to the principle of equality in our socialist measurement of penalty. They would either publicly propagate class inequality or advertise equality in form but practice inequality in reality. The slaveowning class publicly propagated class inequality in the measurement of penalty. For instance, the indictment law of ancient Athens stipulated that torture was not adopted in interrogating free men and men of all classes but was adopted in interrogating slaves. The law of the feudal landlord class, which reflected the feudal hierarchical system, also publicly stipulated the principle of inequality in the measurement of penalty. "Penalties are not for officials" was obvious evidence of this. During its revolutionary period the bourgeoisie once proposed the slogan of equality for all before the law, but that was never truly realized. In keeping with their system of exploitation, the phenomenon of inequality in the measurement of penalty was also reflected between property owners and the proletariat, between the rich and the poor. In his article "The Situation in England and the English Constitution," Engels proved that there was inequality among the rights of English citizens, and he pointed out: "The last of these individual rights is that everyone has the right to be tried by people of his class, but this right is also the special privilege of the rich. The poor are not tried by people of their class. Under all circumstances they are tried by their mortal enemies. This is because, in England, the rich and the poor are publicly antagonistic to each other." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 697) Similarly, Lenin acutely exposed the phenomenon of inequality in penalties imposed by the Russian court at that time: "Small burglars have to suffer hard labor, while those big robbers, such as rich men, high officials, bank managers, railroad engineers, civil engineers and labor contractors who swallow large sums of public money, are at most sent to border provinces, where they can lead a comfortable life on the money they have plundered." ("Current Affairs Commentary," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 348, footnote) In semifeudal and semicolonial old China, inequality in the measurement of penalty was even more prominent.

The principle of measurement of penalty stipulated in our country's "Criminal Law" and the entire "Criminal Law" alike are the concentrated

expression of the common interest and aspiration of the people throughout the country. We must conscientiously carry out study and discussion and propaganda in a widespread manner, clarify the basic distinction between the Marxist and the idealist and metaphysical view of the measurement of penalty, clarify the relation of dialectical unity between the principle of measuring penalty and the trial procedure, strengthen the socialist legal system, persevere in the dictatorship of the proletariat and struggle unrelentingly for the realization of the four modernizations!

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A BRIEF DISCUSSION ON PHYSICAL CULTURE AND THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 2 Sep 79 pp 76-80

[Article by Chu Xin [2806 6580]]

[Text] While people in the whole country are forging ahead with a united will toward the goal of the four modernizations, physical culture, like all other fighting fronts, also has shown its brandnew features. Both the party and the government highly regard physical culture, and the broad masses enjoy it. From their personal experience in the advancement of the revolutionary cause, many comrades realize that, while modernization needs physical culture, physical culture also needs modernization. This article will attempt to show the demands raised by the four modernizations on physical culture, as well as the role of physical culture in the four modernizations. In other words, the article will explore the relationship between physical culture and the four modernizations.

Physical Culture as an Important Means To Make the Country and the People Strong and To Accelerate the Four Modernizations

Physical culture and sports were born from the womb of human productive labor. After parting company with the most basic form of practical human activities, that is, productive labor, they became another form of labor or training for self-defense, as well as a means of improving health and promoting culture. Thus they formed an inseparable flesh-and-blood relationship with social development and historical progress.

The four modernizations are the Chinese people's central task and will continue to be so for a fairly long historical period, with an important bearing on the destiny of our country and our nation. They have made additional and higher demands on physical culture and sports and at the same time opened a vast vista for their vigorous development and active roles.

Human beings are the most active and aggressive among all factors of productive forces. Aside from political zeal, ideological consciousness,

cultural level and technical skills, their state of health also plays a very important role in the development of production. People's physical condition, physical ability, wisdom and will and their adaptability to labor intensity and various environments also have a direct bearing on their efficiency and speed in production. In accomplishing the four modernizations, the people have many mysteries to explore, many difficulties to overcome and many new fields to pioneer. All these activities involve a wide field, ranging from the surface of the earth to the high sky, from the land to the ocean, from microcosm to macrocosm, and including industry, agriculture, national defense, science and technology, and culture and education. At present the need for heavy physical labor still exists for our industrial and agricultural production; therefore, strong bodies are still in demand. With the constant progress of modernization, this demand is all the more greater. For example, in a workshop with completely automatic equipment, human labor consists mainly of pressing buttons and reading meters, which seem to be light and easy. But to speedily and accurately read and work on the numeral data from so many meters within a short time requires not only a high concentration of thought but also sufficient physical strength. Aerospace crew members have to work outside the atmospheric layer and to withstand and overcome many difficulties caused by weightlessness, radiation, high pressure, vibration, and so forth. Immediately after takeoff, they have to withstand an acceleration of up to 7.5 G. On returning to the atmospheric layer, they also have to withstand a deceleration of 12 G. Deep-sea divers have to withstand an additional atmosphere at every 10 meters' depth. Although there are various types of advanced equipment for modernized deep-sea diving, it nevertheless calls for people of extraordinary energy to undertake such tense and arduous scientific research as surveying, exploration and collection of specimens at a depth of thousands or tens of thousands of meters in the ocean. All these examples show that, far from reducing the demands for physical strength, modernization is actually making more and stricter demands. If we want to attain the lofty goal of building a modernized socialist country, we must have that kind of "strong and healthy body, steel will and iron muscles" envisaged by Lenin. In other words, more than ever before we need able bodies, strong wills and great wisdom.

Labor creates man and physical culture improves him. Way back in 1917, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his article "A Study of Physical Culture": Physical culture can strengthen the sinews, increase the intellectual power, regulate the emotions and steel the will. The effects of physical culture in improving and strengthening the functions of various human organs and systems have been proved by practice and supported by scientific data. For example, the lung capacity of a normal person is only 3,000-3,500 square millimeters, but that of a systematically trained athlete can be as great as 5,000-6,000 square millimeters. Again, a normal person's pulse is generally 70 beats per minute, but that of a highly trained athlete is only 40 or 50, or even less. There is no need to enumerate data on the effects of physical

culture in increasing people's height, their chest width, the growth of bones and the hardening of muscles. Physical culture and sports are not only manual but also intellectual activities. To defeat an opponent and win victory in a fierce combat, the athlete has to use his hands as well as his brain in a contest of wits and courage in a very fast-changing situation. The majority of athletic games are group activities calling for good coordination and cooperation. This helps promote teamwork, cultivate fraternity and strengthen the sense of discipline. Keen competition can also cultivate such qualities as bravery, persistence, sagacity, resoluteness, firmness and other intellectual accomplishments. Man continually remolds himself while remolding the objective world. Without remolding himself, he cannot remold the objective world or reap the fruits of its remolding. Therefore, physical training is of great significance in physical improvement as well as social progress. Since we are now carrying out the four modernizations, it is all the more necessary that we highly regard the positive role of physical culture in steeling and developing human bodies.

Historical experiences have shown that the prosperity or decline of a country and a nation is usually related to the state of physical culture. The ancient Greeks regarded physical culture as a means of perfecting the citizens, strengthening the country and resisting foreign aggression. In developing physical culture they built huge stadiums, and outstanding athletes were brought up group after group. The people became strong, and physical culture flourished for several centuries. In the Spartan tradition there was a saying that "the people's physique and the youths' chests are our best national defense." Plato, the famous Athenian philosopher, spoke these well-known words: "The meaning of a perfect life is the appreciation of both music and physical training." The Olympic games, which have lasted to this day, began in Greece in 776 B.C. During the past several centuries, the need to improve the physique was keenly felt in Germany after Napoleon's domination of Europe, in France after that country's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, and after the American Civil War and the Meiji Restoration in Japan. These countries set up laws governing national sports, and participation in these activities was regarded as one of the national tasks. Large sums of money were appropriated for the development of physical culture, and every effort was made to popularize it among the masses, with special attention to military sports for young people. These countries even imported sports talent and techniques to promote their own physical culture. After 1840, because of imperialist aggression and the Qing dynasty's corruption, "national strength was feeble, and martial spirit was at a low ebb." Around the "May 4" period, some advanced elements and people of high ideals advocated and appealed for the promotion of physical culture as a means of strengthening the nation and the people as well as for national salvation. Among Comrade Mao Zedong's earlier works, "A Study of Physical Culture" was an important and highly representative piece. The promotion of physical culture is the common desire of mankind and has been advocated by all classes in their own interest

in every age. However, the exploiting classes turned it into an evil means of profitmaking, gambling and pleasure seeking, as well as into a policy of aggression. Only the socialist countries, where the people are masters of themselves under the leadership of the working class, can get rid of these evils and give full scope to the role of physical culture. During the four modernizations we should consciously use physical culture as a means of making the country and the people strong, improving the people's physique, and training a large new force for carrying out the four modernizations.

Physical Culture as an Important Force To Enhance National Prestige and Raise People's Morale

Physical culture and sports have a competitive element and international character. Competition grows along with physical culture. The reason physical culture and sports can be so popular, so appealing, so inspiring and so capable of producing such a widespread influence in society is that it is a form of competition.

For a very long time, sports competition has been an important means of international contact, and this kind of contact is now even more frequent. Since sports competition has an international character, the athletes represent their own countries or regions in the stadiums. Their performance and achievements reflect their national strength, their people's morale, their economic and cultural levels, and the level of their scientific and technological development. A big international match usually attracts worldwide attention. In addition to the thousands or tens of thousands of spectators, hundreds of millions more follow its progress and results through television, broadcasting and publications. In the event of a victory of their own national team, the people become wild with elation because of their national pride and their country's prestige. During the 26th World Table Tennis Championship Tournament, people at all levels focused their attention on our own team, and phone calls came in incessantly day and night to inquire about the progress of the matches. Whenever our team won a match or a game, these people's gratification knew no bounds; whenever it lost a match or a game, they felt dismayed. When our team had won three championships for the male group and the men's and women's singles, the whole country was jubilant. A steel-smelting worker wrote to us, saying: "You have tried hard to raise our national prestige; we, on our part, will do our very best to smelt steel and to turn out good steel." The table tennis team's victory and its revolutionary spirit of daring to struggle and being good at struggling gave tremendous inspiration to the Chinese people, who were then laboring under serious economic difficulties. A country or a nation should always foster the people's patriotism and national self-confidence. In times of peace, a sports competition, appearing as a direct confrontation, can be considered the most effective way to arouse people's patriotism and sense of national pride. This is precisely the reason many countries in the world have devoted appreciable amounts of manpower

and financial and material resources to the development of sports in order to raise standards and win victories.

The superb performance of the players in the stadium and their outstanding achievements comprehensively embody their fine physical condition, their good fighting techniques, their unflinching determination, their scientific methods and their will to win glory for the country. A sports competition is not only something for people to see and hear; it also provokes their power of reasoning. When people watch outstanding performances, there are not only emotional outbursts but also the sublimation of the emotions to rational deduction. After a match, what remains in the spectator's mind is not only the resulting victory or defeat, the impressive actions, the tense situation or the heated atmosphere, but also something that is soul stirring, provocative and enlightening. What our table tennis team offered to the people was not only their championship titles or their trophies, but also the lofty aspiration of "keeping the motherland in mind and the whole world in sight"; the inspiring, militant feeling that "there cannot be many occasions as challenging as this one"; and the dialectical concept of "starting from zero." People praised China's mountaineering team not only because it had performed the outstanding feat of twice conquering Jolmo-Lungma, but also because of the "wide-sweeping heroism which enable it to laugh at Jolmo-Lungma for not being high enough" and because of the spirit which encourages people of all walks of life to scale the peaks of science and technology. Chen Jingkai [7115 6975 7030] has constantly been praised and respected simply because of his revolutionary heroism, as shown by his outstanding performance in smashing the world record nine times. Luan Jujie [2940 5468 0267] and Cao Huiying [2580 1979 5391] became famous in sports circles all over the world because of their fine performance, courage and indomitable will. The fine athletes and athletic teams of our country have shown their lofty ideals, will, style and sportsmanship, which have spread beyond the confines of sports circles and become the common spiritual wealth of our society. In his comments on Xu Yinsheng's [1776 1377 3932] "On How To Play Table Tennis," Chairman Mao said in 1965: "He talks about playing ball. What we should learn from his is theory, politics, economics, culture and military affairs."

Our respected and beloved Premier Zhou also strongly pointed out that physical culture is a type of material as well as spiritual force. In other words, it not only improves people's health and strength but also spiritually encourages, inspires and then ideologically enlightens and educates people. We must fully recognize the spiritual force generated by physical culture and sports and the role and significance of this force in the four modernizations and give them high regard and due promotion. If we see them as only the acts of jumping about and running around and dismiss or reject them as unnecessary, aren't we obviously shortsighted or narrowminded?!

Physical Culture as an Important Aspect of Modern Life

Along with the progress of modernization, physical culture has crossed the threshold of human life in big strides and become an important aspect of modern life.

People's lifestyle always corresponds to a certain level of development of productive forces. Physical culture as an important aspect of modern life is, strictly speaking, primarily the result of the development of productive forces, though the innate relationship between modern life and the special features of physical culture itself is also one of the causes.

Productive forces are an important condition for the development of physical culture, which was originally born and developed in the course of struggle for production. When classes appeared in human society, physical culture also served class struggle, particularly in armed struggles. When classes disappear in the future society, there will be no more war in the world. However, the world of sports will greatly develop. When productive forces are relatively weak, people are compelled to devote most of their energy to the problems of food and clothing, and their participation in sports is limited by subjective conditions. With the development of productive forces and the continual improvement of people's material life, they will have more time and better facilities as well as a more urgent need and desire to take part in physical culture and sports.

In China the number of participants in sports activities is constantly increasing. In localities and units with relatively favorable conditions, physical culture has become an indispensable part of life. If our people are already so fond of physical culture and sports despite the somewhat slow development of productive forces in our country, what part will physical culture and sports play in our life when the productive forces are further developed along with the progress of the four modernizations? It may not be out of place to say something here about the future of physical culture in China. By that time, with the development of automation in production, manual labor will gradually be replaced, and spare time will correspondingly be increased. This will bring about even greater changes in people's lifestyle, and how to use people's leisure, including the time for physical culture, will be an important question. Such a question does not arise in practice in economically prosperous countries, where working time has already been reduced to within 40 hours a week. On weekends, thousands or tens of thousands of people flock to the suburbs to spend their days off, enjoy various forms of cultural entertainment or take part in sports activities. In Japan the number of participants in sports amounts to about half the total population. In West Germany about 100,000 teams take part in popular ball games every weekend. In Japan, the United States and West Europe, participation in races has become a "fad." In Japan alone some 5 million

old and middle-age people join the marathons, and some books on the knowledge of racing have become bestsellers. Another problem deserving our attention is that, because of the rise in the standard of living, people are taking in too many calories, and if they do not take part in physical culture, they may easily be threatened by a "disease from sedentary habits" (obesity). Modernization has made new demands on physical culture, and new problems will sooner or later appear in our country. Hence the need for immediate attention.

There is still another reason physical culture has become an indispensable part of modern life: physical culture, especially modern physical culture, itself can give people the enjoyment of health and beauty. Many sports activities are now carried out for the purpose of combining physical culture with the arts and natural sciences with esthetics. Some immortal sculptures of ancient Greece were intended to show the physical beauty of the athletes. Modern calisthenics are now lauded as the melody of beauty, while acrobatic gymnastics are virtually a type of modeling art. Swimming, which is like a dragon's return to the sea; the long jump, which resembles the leaping of a fierce tiger over a stream; the high dive, which is like a hawk majestically spreading its wings; and short-distance races, the clearing of hurdles, bicycle races and so forth, which give the impression of a whirlwind, are all exciting as well as entertaining and are apt to engage the rapt attention of the spectators. Participation in or the appreciation of physical culture and sports helps to mold the character of people, especially young people, and is useful in enriching people's life, promoting vitality and thus excluding and rejecting various types of vulgar or improper activities during leisure hours.

We carry out the four modernizations for the purpose of making our country wealthy and strong and enriching the people's material and cultural lives. Besides making people stronger, sports can also enrich and beautify their lifestyle, while better living and a better spiritual world, in their own ways, can promote the four modernizations. This is the law of dialectics of physical culture and the four modernizations governing a part of the people's cultural life.

Appreciation and Development of Physical Culture

The appreciation and development of physical culture are signs of human progress and civilization, while neglecting and obstructing its development are signs of backwardness and obscurantism. In medieval Europe the dominant divine rights and feudal forces treated human bodies as slaves of the soul. They held that the soul could be strengthened only at the expense of the body; consequently, physical culture was completely neglected. The Olympic games were discontinued, and physical culture in ancient Greece, hitherto flourishing, disappeared. It was then the "dark age" for physical culture. As representatives of the corrupt and degenerate classes, Lin Biao and the "gang of four," being extremely

reactionary politically, interfered with and disrupted physical culture activities in every way they could. During the 10 years of their rampage, many sports organizations were abolished, many construction projects for stadiums suspended, and many athletes and physical culture workers persecuted. This was an unprecedented calamity for the cause of physical culture.

The proletariat stands for advanced productive forces, the direction of historical development and the basic interests of the broad masses of working people. Therefore, it has always attached great importance to physical culture and actively promoted it. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin all mentioned the importance of physical culture and personally participated in sports activities. Marx considered it an important component of future education, and he pointed out: "The combination of remunerative productive labor and intellectual, physical and comprehensive technical education will raise the working class above the aristocratic and bourgeois classes." ("The Directive of the Provisional Central Committee to the Delegates on Certain Questions," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 16, p 218) Our party, Chairman Mao, Premier Zhou, Chairman Zhu and the other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation all highly regarded physical culture and showed great concern for it. They fully affirmed its role and established its place in socialist revolution and construction. Faced with the task of the four modernizations, we must inherit and develop this tradition, which has always been highly regarded and actively promoted by our party, so that physical culture can better serve the four modernizations.

Our people's physique and skill in sports, though greatly improved, are not yet adequate for the needs of the four modernizations. To train a large contingent of labor forces which are Red, expert and healthy in order to serve the four modernizations; to enable the younger generation to grow up sturdily; and to meet the needs of a flourishing future for China, we must fully understand and attach great importance to physical culture and regard it as a truly important undertaking for the party as well as the entire population. This should be a long-range goal for our leaders at all levels. In addition to the great efforts of the departments of physical culture and sports, the departments of education, the trade unions, the CYL, the Women's Federation, and all other departments concerned should have the responsibility and concern for the physical as well as mental health of the broad masses in order to do a good job in physical culture. Town planning and rural planning should also include the allocation of sites for physical culture activities. Under the leadership of the party headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, we must build our country into a strong, modernized country. Along with the gradual realization of the four modernizations, our great motherland will certainly become a strong athletic country as well.

TWO HUMBLE OPINIONS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 2 Sep 79 inside back cover

[Article by Wang Yinsheng [3769 6892 0524]]

[Text] Do Not Use the Word "Personally" Indiscriminately

Recently some people have regarded the word "personally" as a rare treasure to be used in talks, speeches or articles. This word is now widely used as a compliment to the leaders. Thus, in such phrases as "personally going deep into the grassroots units," "personally conducting investigations and study," "personally convening a symposium," "personally reading out the documents," "personally guiding the study" and so forth, the word "personally" is being used to the point of being ridiculous and sickening. No wonder some comrade said sarcastically: "It seems as though 'personally' should be placed before 'eating,' 'sleeping' and 'walking'!"

I do not mean that the word "personally" cannot be used at all. The important point is that it should be used correctly. In saying that, for example, a certain leader "goes deep into the grassroots units," "reads out a document" and so forth, why is it necessary to add the word "personally" as a rule? Is it correct to say that he goes deep into the grassroots units, but not personally? Or that he could have read out a document without opening his mouth? The addition of "personally" is as unnecessary as adding legs to a snake in a drawing and is a vulgar form of flattery. This is completely devoid of the spirit of seeking truth from facts or the sense of forthright admiration. In terms of grammar or diction, it is tautology or nonsense, like patching up a new dress--which is entirely unnecessary.

The indiscriminate use of "personally" owes its popularity to Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They used this word all the time, thinking that it would show their enthusiasm in "holding high." However, history has already openly and inexorably condemned their counterrevolutionary tactics of flattery! This type of pernicious influence has now left a stink in the mouth of some of our comrades as a sign of impure literary

and party style. If we want to accomplish the shift of emphasis in our work, we must wipe out this fictitious, philistine and vulgar style.

Behind the Inspiring Words...

I recently heard this anecdote: A new secretary came to a certain unit, and, amid the usual fanfare greeting the arrival of a new official, he spoke before a mass meeting on the way to organize the leading body. He introduced many new, concrete and practical ideas and measures about setting a good personal example and won great applause. A few days later, however, a report surfaced: Through his "former connections," the new secretary had arranged for his daughter to be enlisted and assigned to a nearby army medical school, even though it was not yet the recruiting season. There was then an uproar among the masses. Some of them said: "Just another lump of donkey's dung--with a shiny surface!"

While paying lipservice to the disapproval of improper work styles and to the need for integrity in serving the public and for self-discipline, in crucial moments this type of person can only think of private interests. When the masses criticize these people, they themselves, or some others on their behalf, put up three protective shields: First, extraordinary circumstances to be taken into consideration; second, let bygones be bygones, but not to be taken as a precedent; and third, legal and legitimate procedures. In fact, everyone clearly understands that the so-called "extraordinary circumstances" only mean "getting an inch and then asking for a foot"; the so-called "not to be taken as a precedent" means "offenses to be repeated"; and the so-called "legal procedures" means "resorting to tricks."

After all, this is a question of integrating theory with reality. If the masses of some units are in low spirits, there must be some problems among the masses themselves, and it is necessary to help them understand and solve the problems. However, the failure on the part of some leading comrades to match their words with action, their poor work style, and their inability to set good personal examples are the more important causes. Let me give a piece of advice to those leading comrades who have a poor work style behind their inspiring words, long articles and impressive reports: Size up the situation carefully and rein in your horse on the brink of the precipice!

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